

Lost Homelands Reinvented: Material Culture of the Chinese Diaspora and Their Family in Taiwan

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
PHD
in the Department of Anthropology

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Abstract

This research delves into the everyday practice of the now-elderly *Waishengren*, the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, who retreated from China to Taiwan after World War II. The thesis compares and contrasts how *Waishengren* and their family, either from mainland China or the island of Taiwan, make sense of dwelling in Taiwan for more than a half century, and how they define their relationship with other (imagined) ethnic groups in Taiwan through material culture. This is revealed by (1) interviewing *Waishengren* and their families; (2) phenomenologically describing public and domestic space; (3) investigating the (in)significance of homes and homelands to them, and (4) exploring the way the *Waishengren* situate themselves in a time of emerging 'Taiwanese statehood'. Semi-structured interviews with 40 households were conducted in LN Village in Hsinchu City of Northern Taiwan, and photographs, maps, spatial diagrams, floor plans, selected socio-spatial data and archives are exhibited and analysed in order to further understand how the Chinese diaspora and their family construct multiple identities through homes and potted-plant gardens in contemporary Taiwan.

Key Words: Chinese diaspora, home, garden, identity, *juancun*, material culture, Taiwan, *Waishengren*

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Prologue

I was prompted to undertake this research following my bafflement with a contemporary problem: the tactile sterility which afflicts the living environment and the loss of imagination which seems to curse most modern societies. In the beginning, I didn't know how and where to begin. Not until I entered the *juancun*, the quartered community of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, did I realise that the answer may be closer than I thought. Though some of these people felt betrayed by their nationalist party KMT, or the government of Republic of China (ROC) in exile, which brought them to Taiwan and left them there, such deprivation emancipated their power of imagination and they, the *Juancun Waishengren*, survived. Sixty years after dwelling on the island of Taiwan, virtual and imagined matrices have been created to assist them in taking root in local society and in being in the world.

In a world of porous boundaries, multiple identities, and expanding yet conflicting mobility, the sense of belonging is increasingly diversified and contested. In relation to concepts of belonging, homeland extends the ideas of embodied being-in-the-world to observe that the fluidity of diaspora enables and therefore necessitates commensurately fluid notions and processes of dwelling. This volume draws on theories and ethnographies about the mutually constructive nature of human-environmental interactions, and the imaginative use of the material culture in formulating categories and conceptual schemes. A more phenomenological approach brings to the fore alternate claims of belonging, based on materiality and processually formed in body-mind through familiarity with space over time, through identity destruction and reconstruction, through emotional attachments and alienation to places, and through imaginative and physical engagements with material environments. In light of the research in diaspora studies and phenomenological ethnography in material culture, this volume explores alternate ways of belonging.

By learning from inventive diaspora and their expressive material culture, fresh stimulus to the problem of being in the modern world could be expected. Through

examining small problems, we may teach ourselves to solve larger ones. Therefore, Loyalty New Village, the last surviving diaspora community in Hsinchu City (until summer 2015), where my fourteen-month fieldwork took place (2009-2010), may be a good starting point for such examination. In this dissertation, I tell a tale of multiple homelands and illustrate how the home and the neighbourhood are modelled and shaped by everyday touches, interpersonal chats and individual trances, all of which turn an originally cold and rough surface into one that is smooth and cosy, and transform a foreign island into a homey land. It is an account of how people express themselves through their houses, gardens, and possessions within, and what these tell us about their lives and wishes in Taiwan after post-war migration. This research not only explores the role of objects in our relationships to each other and to ourselves, but also understands the contexts and appropriation of these objects in relation to the transitional and ambivalent position of Taiwan, which is historically and geographically located between the Orient and the Occident. It reveals the many ways homelands can be reinvented, and fills the missing piece of the cartography of global Chinese Diaspora: the overlooked Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

Because this thesis deals with some Chinese texts as its primary sources, materials quoted are given in English translation, and followed by the romanised original Chinese within parentheses “[]”, which are normally based on the transliteration system Hanyu Pinyin (漢語拼音), unless otherwise preference has been made. Chinese names and Taiwanese are spelt in Hanyu Pinyin or other types of transliteration for the Chinese language, which are in line with personal name-spelling choice.

Chapter 1 Uncovering the Chinese Diaspora in Taiwan

Today, there are some 232 million international migrants living in the world (OECD-UNDESA 2013). We are now living in a globalized world of movement and hybridity. Rootlessness, displacement between worlds, lived life between a lost past and a fluid present are the most fitting metaphors for the journeying, modern consciousness (Rapport and Dawson 1998: 3-23). In such an increasingly creolized world of people and experiences, global processes intersect localized places and traditional conceptions of individuals as members of fixed and separate societies and cultures become redundant (Kearney 1995: 557; Tilley 1997: 74). Diasporas, whether as the result of war, oppression, poverty, or the search for better economic and social opportunities, with the inevitable opening of their culture to new influences and pressures, are not only the scattering of peoples, but also a concept which offers new possibilities for understanding identity, instead of something determined by place or nationality (Gilroy 1997: 304).

In the first two introductory chapters, I outline some of the fundamental premises and contexts of my research, including the contextualization of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan (*Waishengren*), and the sensoriality and materiality of exile and of home. In Chapter 1, a rationale for the research is provided. To locate the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, I first concisely review diaspora studies and global diasporas through the eyes of Robin Cohen, Avtar Brah, James Clifford and Virinder S. Kalra, and then focus on global Chinese diasporas with the help of research works by Laurence J. C. Ma, Jack F. Williams and Ronald Skeldon. Historical knowledge and ideas of how the social formation under study came into being is also provided and self-reflectively examined. Finally, I bring into consideration the estimated one million Chinese diaspora in Taiwan after the Asia-Pacific War, and discuss the potential contribution of this research to global diaspora studies. The list of themes or types briefly summarized under each

heading is not meant to be exhaustive but suggestive, having been sieved from diaspora studies, Taiwan studies, and anthropology.

1.1 Global and Chinese Diasporas

1.1.1 What is diaspora?

What is home? What is exile? Are there any essential elements of a national culture left intact? [...] Can migrants ever call their places of settlement a home? [...] Can one, to be flippant, surmount the issue of placement and displacement by devising a new slogan: "It does not matter where you're from, or where you've come to, but where you're at"? (Cohen 1997: 133-134)

In a world of diaspora, transnational culture flows, and mass movements of populations, old-fashioned attempts to map the globe as a set of culture regions or homelands are bewildered; familiar lines between 'here' and 'there', centre and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 10). Since the late 1960s, 'diaspora' has come to be imbricated with the terms transnationalism, globalization, migrancy, ethnicity, exile and the nation; after the 1980s, the conceptual situation was further complicated by the changing meanings of 'belonging' and 'citizenship' (Tölölyan 2012: 4). Before 1990 there was little academic interest in the term 'diaspora', except for the few publications concerned with the historical Jewish or African experience. Only after 1990 is there a mass proliferation of written work, as well as a huge diversification under the diaspora rubric. The breadth and diversity of diaspora has now stretched from queer theory to economic network theory (Kalra et al. 2005: 8). In the late 1990s, James Clifford (1997: 277) furthered the meaning of the diaspora discourse and history, implicating its potential of 'recovering non-Western, or not-only-Western, models for cosmopolitan life, nonaligned transnationalities struggling within and against nation-states, global technologies, and markets'.

The word 'diaspora' is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over); when applied to humans, the ancient Greeks thought of

diaspora in terms of migration and colonization. The classical form of diaspora relates to forced movement, exile and a sense of loss derived from an inability to return (Kalra et al. 2005: 10). A world picture provided by Cohen (1997: ix-x) may be accountable and useful: the number of 'nation-peoples' is estimated at 2000, which is ten times the anticipated number of recognized nation-states. Numerous examples in the late twentieth century of ethnic and nationalist politics created and continue to create displaced peoples (Kalra et al. 2005: 11). One such recent example from the 1990s is the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia into Bosnia, Kosova, Serbia and Slovenia, causing several peoples to live close to their former home, but unable to return. On 17 February 2008, Kosovo's parliament unanimously endorsed a declaration of independence from Serbia, with ethnic Albanians holding the majority and the Serbs a mere 10 per cent. Therefore, diaspora signifies a collective trauma, a banishment, in which one dreams of home but lives in exile (Cohen 1997: ix), with the idea of going home (Skeldon 2010: 151). It is arguable that nowadays all or most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations), and it is possible to perceive an adaptive constellation of responses to dwelling-in-displacement (Clifford 1997: 254). The word 'diaspora' has now encompassed voluntary and forced population movements, and comes to replace 'international migration' (Skeldon 2010: 151), and the diaspora, as opposed to migration, 'allows us to see migration not as a one-off event with one-way consequences,¹ but rather as an ongoing process of building links and relationships at the material and cultural levels' (Kalra et al. 2005: 14-15).

Cohen's nine common features of a diaspora (1997: 180) is a good start to better grasping the idea of 'diaspora': (1) dispersal from an original homeland, often

¹ The word 'migration' gives the impression of a definitive move: a movement to a destination where the migrant will stay and eventually become a citizen of another country. Diaspora, on the other hand, draws attention to looking back, to the importance of linkages between origins and destinations and to the fact that the migrants may return or, at least, continue their involvement with their countries of origin (Skeldon 2010: 152).

traumatically; (2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland; (4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home; (5) a return movement; (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time; (7) a troubled relationship with host societies; (8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and (9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries. However, there are both advantages and limitations in Cohen's list. It is criticised that one of the fundamental flaws is that 'Cohen oscillates around the idea of homeland' (Kalra et al. 2005: 11-12). Brah (1996: 180, 193) points out that a homing desire is not the same thing as desire for a 'homeland'. In other words, not all diasporas inscribe homing desires through a wish to return to a place of 'origin'. The case in Taiwan by this research reveals that many diaspora Chinese express their homing desires through visiting (but not returning to) places of origin and through reinventing homelands on site (see Chapter 6 for details).

Furthermore, Cohen (1997: x) also proposes a typology of global diasporas illustrated with selected ethnic groups: victim (African and Armenian), labour (Indian), imperial (British), trade (Chinese and Lebanese), and cultural (Caribbean) diasporas. He stresses that some groups take dual or multiple forms while others change their character over time, which will be discussed below when considering the old and the new Chinese diaspora in 1.1.2, and its multiplicity in 1.1.3.

1.1.2 Chinese diaspora: The old and the new

The term 'Chinese diaspora', conventionally called Overseas Chinese or Chinese overseas (海外華人) [*haiwai huaren*], has been used to refer to persons of ethnic Chinese descent residing abroad or in areas outside of mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong/Macau (the 'three Chinas'). According to Cohen, the Chinese emigrants fell into three distinct classes – indentured workers (the so-called 'coolies'), free artisans and traders (1997: x). Over two million Chinese found their way to the Malay Peninsula, Indochina, Sumatra, Java, the Philip-

pires, Hawaii, the Caribbean, Mexico, Peru, California and Australia over the period of 1848-88 alone (Cohen 1997: 91, 139-141). The Chinese diaspora population is now estimated as being between 40 million and 45 million (Lien and Chen 2013: 42; Tan 2013: 2-4). The Chinese diaspora contributes considerably to the economy, accounting for approximately two-thirds of the Chinese national GDP in 1999, although it constitutes only about 4 per cent of the population (Duara 2008). It is well known that the Chinese have been involved in international migration for hundreds of years. Migration from China has been dominated by the southeast coast of China, from provinces Guangdong (廣東), Fujian (福建) and Zhejiang (浙江). Among those rapidly expanded overseas activities, Hokkiens, or the Hoklo people, from South Fujian were the most active participants in this, extending networks from Japan to Southeast Asia (McKeown 2004: 66-67; Skeldon 2010: 150).

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinese migrants (primarily villagers from Guangdong and Fujian) travelled abroad as labourers, traders and farmers (Ma 2003; McKeown 2004: 68). In the past few decades, many Chinese have re-migrated from different parts of China, Southeast Asian countries and Taiwan to other continents. Viewing the Chinese diaspora as trade-based migrants is mostly correct for the pre-1960s 'old diaspora', although this continues to account for some of the 'new diaspora' today. However, the Chinese diaspora has fundamentally changed since the mid-1960s, and its current characteristics have been shaped by the political and economic developments in the homelands, by the discrimination against the Chinese in Southeast Asia, by the globalization of production and improved transportation, and by the changing immigration policies on the part of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and European countries. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, out-migration from Hong Kong was largely due to perceived political uncertainties of the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Likewise, to a large extent emigration from Taiwan since the 1960s has been attributed to political instability, arising from fears of military invasion from China (or People's Republic of China, hereafter PRC). Re-migration of the Chinese from Southeast Asian nations to the United States,

Canada, Australia and European countries since the 1960s has been due mainly to overt discrimination, hostility and sometimes violence against the Chinese (Bao 2013; Ip 2013; Ma 2003; Suryadinata 2013).

In the 'old diaspora', there was simple connection between a sending place in Guangdong or Fujian and a paired place in Southeast Asia before the 1960s, while the patterns of spatial interaction today are multidirectional, based on multiple centres of origin and destination (Ma 2003: 19-20). There have also been contrasted forms of new Chinese diaspora, such as 'clandestine diaspora' and those living in ethnoburbs (ethnic suburbs) in recent years. The clandestine diaspora are mostly illegal emigrants from Fujian. The ship *Golden Venture*, which carried 286 undocumented Chinese migrants, ran aground off the coast of Queens in New York in June 1993, and, in the Dover container tragedy of 2000, over 50 migrants from Changle (長樂, county-level city located in eastern Fujian province) died from asphyxiation in a shipping container, these being only two examples of such sad and miserable cases (Ma 2003: 22). In contrast, since the 1970s, a number of Chinese transmigrants and their global enterprises have found new diasporic settlements within important business centres such as Silicon Valley, Monterey Park, Rosemead, Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights and other American suburbs (Ma 2003: 24; Wong 2013: 295). Many of them, particularly those in the West Coast of the US, have become 'hypermobile' migrants in the era of Pacific Rim capital, and have established a family in one society, while starting a business in the other and are thus constantly moving between the two at the cost of isolation, alienation, depression and delinquency of family members, as a result of the growing interdependence of the US economy with the Pacific economies of Taiwan, Hong Kong and China (Cohen 1997: 93; McKeown 2004: 73; Ong 1998: 157). The sentiments of the Chinese diaspora, or in Shu-mei Shih's words (2007: 26), the Sinophone settlers in different parts of the world, are various, as their different intentions for staying or leaving provide different measuring mechanisms for their desire to integrate or not. This argument brings plural Chinese diasporas to light by recognizing their cultural diversity and multiple subjectivities.

1.1.3 Chinese diasporas: The multiplicity

After the Asia-Pacific War, some Chinese returned to China but found themselves dismayed by the economic chaos and massive corruption, hence increasing numbers relocated entire families abroad, which was further encouraged by the impending victory of the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP, 中國共產黨) [*zhongguo gongchan dang*] in 1949; most Chinese emigration was curtailed by the establishment of the PRC until the late 1970s (McKeown 2004: 71-72). The largest ethnic Chinese community outside China, constituting three-fourths of the total number of Chinese overseas, is found in Southeast Asia: they are the heterogeneous Chinese, the majority of whom have experienced varying degrees of adjustment, localization and acculturation (Suryadinata 2013: 274).² However, not all Chinese diaspora undergo similar processes such as localization; the border-running Chinese executive with no state loyalty (Ong 1998: 157) and the Chinese in Peru with an aim of entering the USA (Lausent-Herrera 2013: 397), to name a few. Nevertheless, Chinese diaspora, including the new migrants, do want to be part of the local societies (Tan 2013: 7); it is also stressed that, through settlement, as in the phrase '*luodi shenggen* (落地生根),' meaning 'growing roots where you land', and through differentiation among the communities in six continents, global diasporic Chinese have found new homes in different parts of the world (Wang 2004: 157; Yang 1996).

There is an important dimension in Chinese diaspora which is overlooked either unwittingly or deliberately: the contentious idea of a distinct entity called 'the Chinese diaspora'. Since the global Chinese migrants, with their different places of origin, dialects, classes, types of migration and nationalities, have developed

² There are approximately 23 million Chinese in Southeast Asia (4 per cent of the total ASEAN population), and the rate of Chinese assimilation in Thailand and Philippines is the highest (Suryadinata 2013: 274, 286).

unique histories and identities in the host societies,³ to subsume these variations under overarching ethnic or cultural labels produces not only analytic difficulties but also political ones (McKeown 2004: 65). As Cohen (1997: 87) aptly quotes from Lynn Pan (1994):

[Though] the overseas Chinese were [...] being sinocized, they were also of somewhat different ethnic origins; more akin [...] to the inhabitants of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos [...] there was the almost mystical attachment to hsiang ("home"), which was never an immense entity like "China", but rather could mean a village, a home town, familiar countryside or simply the place of emotional attachment.

It may therefore be argued that there is no single Chinese diaspora but many different Chinese diasporas, since the Chinese divide along lines of occupation, language, education, class, native place, nationality, and generation (Wang 2004: 170; McKeown 2004: 74). There has been a varied and complex migration of Chinese people, and, for the Chinese, differences include not only those of background and place of origin, but also those that evolve in the destination areas: themselves as people transforming and transformed by their host societies (Skeldon 2003: 63). The fact that the Sinophone people dispersed throughout the continents over such a long historical span leads us to question the viability of the umbrella concept of the Chinese diaspora in which the criteria of determination is different degrees of Chineseness (Shih 2007: 26-7). Whereas mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong/Macau have long been deemed as the 'three Chinas', the reconsideration of the identity under the rubric of Chinese diaspora critically opens up a new horizon in the field of identity studies in relation to place, and then makes the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan as an emerging new state, an immediate case in point.

³ For example, studies by Bill Skinner on the overseas Chinese in Thailand, as well as by Tian Rukang and Marjorie Topley on those in Sarawak and Singapore respectively (Wang 2012: 200).

1.1.4 Identity and Place

Diasporas score by being able to interrogate the universal with the particular and by being able to use their cosmopolitanism to press the limits of the local (Cohen 1997: 173). The political and economic implications of diasporic activity revolve around, under, in-between and sometimes through the nation-state, an overarching structure that cannot be ignored (Kalra et al. 2005: 28). The nation-state is about welding the locals to a single place, gathering people and integrating ethnic minorities. Diasporas, by contrast, imply multiple attachments. They accommodate to, but also resist, the norms and claims of nationalists (Cohen 1997: 135), while the nation-state, as common territory and time, is traversed and, to varying degrees, subverted by diasporic attachments (Clifford 1997: 250). Diasporas also question the nation by fundamentally puncturing the notion that territorial association or land and cultural affiliation are natural sources of identification (Kalra et al. 2005: 32).⁴ The complex and flexible positioning of diasporas between homelands and host countries constitutes a prototype for social units and individuals to use it for defining, centring, and 'delocalizing' their activities and identities (Safran 1991: 95).

Place is an irreducible part of human experience, as well as situatedness, in relation to identity and action (Tilley 1994: 18). Through identity and action, people calculate how belonging can be transformed into a dynamic form of solidarity and then seek to realize it in political forms, whether as a nation, a state, a movement, or some unsteady combination of these forms (Gilroy 1997: 302). However, multiple places of residence therefore engender manifold identities and responses. Diaspora subjects with palimpsestic memories of places challenge any fixed or pre-given identity and its operations by valorizing relationships

⁴ Nevertheless, for those who are far less happy about the relative immunity of diasporas from the disciplines and duties of citizenship in a modern nation-state, the nation-state is not only an oppressive form of social organization, but also one that protects free expression, political diversity, cultural pluralism and social tolerance (Cohen 1997: 196).

sponsored by the nation-state, and by allowing for a more ambivalent relation to nationalism. By embracing diaspora, our understanding of identity turns instead towards an emphasis on contingency, indeterminacy and conflict, which allows us to perceive identity in motion (Gilroy 1997: 334), as a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' (Hall 1990: 225). As Hua (2005: 193) echoes, 'it is crucial to remember that diasporic identities and communities are not fixed, rigid, or homogeneous, but are instead fluid, always changing, and heterogeneous'.

The dispersal of people across the globe creates identities shaped by and located in different places; migration produces plural but contested identities which are both unsettled and unsettling (Woodward 1997: 16-17). Consider the Chinese in the Caribbean. Most settled Chinese cultivated a multi-layered sense of self with different concepts of 'home,' some of whom lost direct contacts or had unverifiable memories or knowledge and feel the Caribbean more as their 'home' than their ancestral homeland in China. For those Caribbean Chinese experiencing intra-Caribbean migrations, their sense of belonging shows the plurality of Caribbean nations (Shibata 2013: 364). Similar cases can also be observed in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world, while the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan is enmeshed in a far more complex historical and political context. The concept of diaspora is therefore both useful and insightful in further understanding identity and place such as the evolution of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan (which will be illustrated in Section 1.2), or more broadly, global citizens in liquid modernity today.

1.2 Taiwan the Complicated

1.2.1 The island and its people

In recent years, Chinese diaspora studies have moved a considerable way towards recognizing the varied and plural nature of diasporic lives and studying them in the context of their respective national environments (Wang 2004: 157). In most studies on the Chinese diaspora, the Hong Konger and Taiwanese are ignored, and are recognized only as Hong Kong Chinese and Chinese in Taiwan

(Shih 2007: 27). The disguised pieces in the Chinese diaspora puzzle are mainly enshrouded by geopolitics or eclipsed by the rising superpower. The *Waishengren*, namely the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, is one of those overlooked fragments. To understand the *Waishengren* may not only complete one of the most important facets of the Chinese diaspora but also provide a fresh perspective on global diasporas.

Taiwan, a sovereign island, with all the cultural and legal attributes of a modern nation-state, is a pariah state because it is denied recognition by the international system (Duara 1996: 28). It is located between Japan, China and the Philippines, 180 kilometres (110 miles) off the southeast coast of mainland China across the Formosa Strait; it is approximately one seventh the size of the United Kingdom, and slightly larger than Belgium. Taiwan, officially the Republic of China (hereafter ROC), is a democracy of 23 million people (about one third of the population in the UK) in East Asia. It has experienced successive waves of immigration in its history: aboriginals from Asia, various subgroups from China and foreign colonial rulers who stayed for some time before departing. All of them have left imprints on this island (Williams 2003: 163). Different aboriginal people lived in Taiwan approximately 6000 years ago, much earlier than any of the settlers. Not until the late sixteenth century did the early settlers migrate to Taiwan from the southeast coast of China. Around the same time, the Portuguese, who 'discovered' the island in 1590 and named it Formosa, literally meaning 'Beautiful Island', made several unsuccessful attempts at settlement. The early seventeenth century saw the arrival and departure of more colonialists. The Dutch controlled the South-Western coast, while the Spaniards occupied the north. The Dutch seized the Spanish settlement in 1646 but were expelled in 1662 by Zheng Cheng-gong, a prominent general of the defeated Ming emperors, who used Taiwan as a base to fight against the Qing regime. During the years between 1662 and 1683, about 100,000 people, mostly Han (漢人), migrated to the island, which was already home to over 20,000 Han people and over 60,000 Austronesian people, who are the indigenous people of Taiwan (Hong 2005: 73).

In 1684, Taiwan was considered by the Qing force as part of Fujian Province. In the two hundred years that followed, the Qing authorities showed little interest in it, except for importing agricultural products such as rice, tea and sugar to China, while more and more Han people (primarily the Hoklo and the Hakka from Fujian and Guangdong) migrated to Taiwan. In 1893, the population exceeded 2.5 million (Hong 2005: 82). The Qing ceded Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895, which ended the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Japanese colonists ruled Taiwan as a colony within the Japanese Empire for half a century (1895-1945), and established a relatively orderly, peaceful and productive system of rule – a deeply formative experience of Taiwan – dividing the fate of the island from China, and left a clear imprint of Japan in Taiwanese infrastructure, architecture, language, music, food tastes, and other areas (Anderson 2004; Williams 2003). However, the social experience of daily discrimination countered the colonial authorities' efforts to turn Han Taiwanese into Japanese (Brown 2010). In 1943, before the end of the Asia-Pacific War, the population in Taiwan was around 6.6 million (Hong 2005: 229).

After the Asia-Pacific War, the *Kuomintang* (國民黨, hereafter the KMT), namely the Chinese Nationalist Party, sent part of its Chinese army and officials to Taiwan, but it did not fully withdraw to the island from China until it lost the Chinese Civil War against the Communists in 1949 (see Figure 2). Between 1945 and 1949, the relations between mainland Chinese and island Taiwanese deteriorated due to the following reasons: (1) the mainland Chinese stripped the island of foods, industrial goods, and other wealth to fight against the CCP on China; (2) the ROC government had little time for administration of Taiwan, and thus social and economic conditions rapidly worsened; (3) the breakdown of society led to the tragic revolt of February 28, 1947 (the '228 Incident'), followed by the March massacre of the Taiwanese elite by ROC forces and subsequent suppressing

any memory of the violent foundation of the regime on the island (Corcuff 2002:165; Duara 1996: 63; Williams 2003: 173).⁵ Though the KMT also purged and disciplined the migrant community with rigor and intensity in early post-war Taiwan (Yang and Chang 2010: 119), some Taiwanese retain the idea even today that the stable life they enjoyed under Japanese rule was destabilized and exploited by the KMT-led ROC government of thuggery (Anderson 2004; Lin 2014: 74).

When the CCP won the civil war and established the PRC in China in 1949, with its victory over the KMT-led ROC in exile in Taiwan, two 'Chinas' of mutual hostility were created, even though, peculiarly, Taiwan took no part in the battle. More than one million exiles, including the ROC government officials, industrialists, right-wing intellectuals, military troops and accompanying dependents left China mostly for Taiwan, and some for other overseas locations such as Hong Kong, Vietnam, Burma and beyond (Yang and Chang 2010: 108). The number of the Chinese diaspora was, back then, around one sixth of the Taiwanese population, dramatically changing the demographic structure and ethnic constitution of Taiwan (Anderson 2004);⁶ the total population in Taiwan was estimated at 6 million in 1946 and 8.87 million in 1951 (Corcuff 2002:164). Since the relocation of the ROC government from China to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan has been an an-

⁵ It is estimated that 7000 to 28,000 people died in the massacre of Taiwanese protesters in 1947, which is the founding episode in the memory of this oppression. However, the White Terror unleashed by KMT in the 1950s was even more ruthless: suspected leftists, both mainland Chinese and local Taiwanese, 90,000 were arrested and 45,000 were executed, while torture and extra-judicial killings did not stop until the mid-1980s (Anderson 2004). Recent research by scholars of transitional justice in Taiwan indicates that *Waishengren* represented approximately 40 percent of known White Terror victims, while accounting for only 10 to 15 percent of the total population on the island; *Waishengren* cases were concentrated in the early 1950s (Yang and Chang 2010: 119).

⁶ According to the credible data collected in 1956, 582,086 servicemen migrated to Taiwan from mainland China (林樹等 1997). Though the official documents were not complete due to the KMT's rapid exile, some valuable information, including the statistics of military affairs such as bases, quarters, and households, can still be found in the Ministry of National Defense following the lifting of martial law after 15 July, 1987.

ti-Communist outpost of the American empire in Asia, with its economy integrated into the world capitalist system (Yang 2013: 135).⁷ The post-1945 era consists of two distinct parts, divided by the watershed year of 1987 when the world record 35-year martial law was lifted (Anderson 2004; Williams 2003: 174). After 1987 achieving liberalization and democratization ensued, including freedom of the press and of political association, people in Taiwan built a distinct politico-economic system from that of the Communist PRC. Taiwanese identity and their aspirations, ignored and suppressed by the KMT-led vicarious Chinese nationalism, were covertly confronted by local Taiwanese nationalism which was beginning to flourish openly (Duara 1996: 36).

The ROC government, primarily led by the Chinese diaspora (most of whom were members of the KMT),⁸ had ruled Taiwan for almost fifty years until its overall authority became increasingly challenged after the 1980s, and was finally superseded in 2000 by democracy. However, eight years later, it took back its power in both the 2007 legislative election and the 2008 president election, and has held it till today. With its colonial experiences from the Europeans, the Chinese, and the Japanese, Taiwan culture is the site of a multiple colonial dynamic (Shih 2007: 138).

1.2.2 *Waishengren*⁹ and their identity struggle

There have been successive diasporas in Taiwan, and, historically, the challenge has always been the art of coexistence between earlier and later immigrants

⁷ From 1950 onwards, sheltering behind US firepower, and benefiting from lavish US aid, the KMT-led ROC reconstructed itself as an efficient development state in Taiwan. It drove industrialisation through a vast state sector with large funds from the US. Rapid economic growth, with increasing export dynamism based on small local business and educational progress, led Taiwan to become one of the great material success stories of the region (Anderson 2004).

⁸ In Corcuff's data collected in 1997, 76.8 percent of the Mainland-born *Waishengren* involved in the study were or had been members of the KMT (2002:172-173).

⁹ It is pronounced '*Waishengren*' in Mandarin, and 'Goa-seng-lang' in Taiwanese Hokkien, literally meaning 'people from the outer provinces.'

(see Figure 3). Taiwan's population consists of 23 million of the 'imagined four major ethnic groups' (Wang 2003), these being: (1) 2 per cent Austronesian Aborigines (原住民) [*Yuanzhumin*], native Taiwanese since the very beginning, inhabiting mainly the mountainous central and eastern parts of the island; (2) 70 per cent Hoklo (福佬/閩南) [*Minnan*],¹⁰ and (3) 15 per cent Hakka (客家) [*Kejia*]¹¹, both earlier settlers in Taiwan, and seen as native Taiwanese since 17th century, almost all of whom are interracial descendants of Flatland Aborigines (平埔族) [*Pingpu*] and the immigrants from South China who primarily settled in the 18th and 19th centuries; (4) 10-13 per cent Chinese diaspora or Mainlanders (外省人) [*Waishengren*] migrating from the provinces across mainland China to Taiwan between October 1945 and February 1955,¹² thus contributing to the pluralisation of the Han population in Taiwan (Yang and Chang 2010: 110; Williams 2003: 166). One of the major impacts of *Waishengren* was to introduce a new cosmopolitanism to Taiwan, especially the Taipei region, in terms of many Chinese dialect groups from all over mainland China, along with various cuisines and other cultural customs of those groups (Williams 2003: 174-175). However, the continuing migration of the recent decades have made this ethnic typology increasingly untenable; the new marriage migrants from China and Southeast Asia are now larger than both the aboriginals and first-generation *Waishengren*. Moreover, in 2011 over 420,000 foreign nationals were working as factory la-

¹⁰ Hokkien-speaking migrants came mostly from the two prefectures of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in the southern Fujian Province. The city of Quanzhou was a major port until it silted up in the fifteenth century; Xiamen (Amoy) emerged as the primary port in the seventeenth century (McKeown 2004: 66).

¹¹ Hakka speakers are scattered throughout southeast China, from Taiwan and Fujian to Guagnxi Province in the west (McKeown 2004: 66-67).

¹² October 1945 was the month in which Taiwan was handed back to Republic of China after fifty years of Japanese colonization. February 1955 was the month of the last great evacuation to Taiwan of soldiers and civilians from the island of Dachen before it fell under the control of CCP (Corcuff 2002:164). *Waishengren*, identical forms for both singular and plural, literally means 'a person or people from other provinces.'

bourers or caregivers in Taiwan (Chiu et al. 2014: 1-2; Lu 2008; Wang and Chang 2002).¹³

Since the 1980s, the *Waishengren*, the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan who arrived at the island in the mid-20th century, have been deemed by Western scholars such as Hill Gates and Susan Greenhalgh as an ethnic distinction, as opposed to 'native Taiwanese' (the Hoklo and Hakka peoples) of partial ancestors from China before the end of the Asia-Pacific War (1945) (Brown 2004: 252; Yang and Chang 2010: 115-116), while some *Waishengren* have disagreed and claimed that native Taiwanese, just like themselves, are also Chinese. No list of criteria exists by which one can determine who is Chinese – Many people from Vancouver (Canada) to Penang (Malaysia), Tsingtao (China) to Lukang (Taiwan) have claimed the 'same' label for a long time – and the inability to define who is or is not Chinese has caused considerable political discord in Taiwan (Wachman 1994:56). Among the 1.16 billion Han people, who are by far the largest ethnic group in the world and native to East Asia from a common Confucian heritage with an identical written script, there are significant differences in terms of spoken language, diet, and folk culture (Bo et al. 2004; Skeldon 2003: 54). Though the Hoklo and the Hakka (native Taiwanese), and *Waishengren* (the Chinese diaspora), are seen as descendants of the Han peoples, the former (especially the Hoklo) have, over time, felt a distance between Taiwan and China since 1895 if not earlier. The majority of Taiwanese gradually develop distinct traditions, symbolisms, historical experiences, and become a settler community with a national identity because of geographical separation and historical experience, as do Americans, Costa Ricans, Australians and Uruguayans (Anderson 2001; Anderson 2004). In the 1980s and the 1990s, the indigenised Taiwanese protested for democracy and quested for ethnic and social justice, while the *Waishengren* and their offspring, enjoying disproportional state benefits and

¹³ This group is commonly referred to as *Wailao* (外勞, meaning overseas labour), with the largest group from Indonesia (Chiu et al. 2014: 1).

unfair advantages in education and official employment, felt resentful, alienated and excluded as a result of being seen as 'privileged outsiders,' as well as the instruments of a foreign regime that has colonised the island since 1945 (Yang and Chang 2010: 109-116). Though it is arguable that *Waishengren* retain a non-negligible power of influence within the Taiwanese army, administration, diplomatic circles, media, and academic spheres, many of whom see Taiwan as part of China being currently separated from it before their wishful 'Taiwan's reunification with China' (Corcuff 2002:163), *Waishengren* is not a frozen homogeneous community. As a diverse group of political migrants relocating to Taiwan after the Chinese civil war, *Waishengren* coming from different walks of life and speaking of varied regional dialects, had their own personal trajectories (Yang and Chang 2010: 121).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Taiwan's quest for identity remains the most contentious issue in domestic politics, which spills over into cross-Strait relations and impacts on regional security (Schubert and Damm 2012: 1). In Post-War Taiwan, both the colonized and the colonizing populations have responded to the diversity of multiculturalism by a renewed search for certainties; whether through Taiwanese indigenisation or the dream of Chinese reunification, some groups have resisted their marginalization within the dynamic society by vigorously reasserting their identities. How can we understand that after 1987, although most *Waishengren* remained in Taiwan, some of them still dream of Taiwan's future reunification with China? Reflections of diaspora may help us gain a clearer view. First, the 'return' of most diasporas can be seen as a largely eschatological concept: it is used to make life more tolerable by holding out for a utopia or eutopia that stands in contrast to the perceived dystopia in which actual life is lived (Safran 1991: 94), which will also be considered in Chapter 6. Second, Brah (1996:180) argues that the concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins, while taking account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as desire for a 'homeland'; she further discusses the question 'Where is home' (1996:192):

On the one hand, 'home' is a mythical place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day [...] all this, as mediated by the historically specific everyday of social relation.

In brief, the double, triple, or multiplacedness of 'home' in the imagination of people in the diaspora does not mean that such groups do not feel anchored in the place of settlement (Brah 1996:194). Moreover, the identity of the diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given; it is constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life and in the everyday stories we tell ourselves individually and collectively (Brah 1996: 183). Belonging is never a simple question of affiliation to a singular idea of ethnicity or nationalism, but rather about the multivocality of belongings (Kalra et al. 2005: 28). We have seen a world-wide formation of hyphenated identities, such as British-Cypriots, Greek-Australians, German-Turks, and Italian-Americans, which, on the one hand, reinforce the sense of belonging to the nation-states on both sides of the divide, and, on the other, result in the creation of new identities which have no affiliation to the nation-state form; for example, the creation of British-Muslims or Black-British or Asian-Americans as diasporic identifications erases one nation-state from the formula while at the same time creating new identifications (Kalra et al. 2005: 33).

Multiple identities are socially constructed and constantly becoming, each with a mix of ethnic, cultural, economic and political attributes (Ma 2003: 32). However, these new or multiple identities do not automatically solve all the problems incurred by diasporas in the modern world. Clifford (1997: 250-251) cogently reminds us that peoples whose sense of identity is centrally defined by collective histories of displacement and violent loss cannot be 'cured' by merging into a new national community. It is now understood that the *Waishengren* have

gradually identified with Taiwan and felt increased mistrust towards China in a process of estrangement since the beginning of Taiwan's democratization. Though the recent identity changes that they have experienced in Taiwan have been opposite to some of their deepest feelings, and not openly supported by the KMT, they have adapted despite many obstacles (Corcuff 2011: 49-52).

Figures



Figure 1: Taiwan and its neighbouring countries, clockwise from top: South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and China (Source: GraphicMaps.com)



Figure 2: Taiwan History, from 1624 to present (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

Demographics of Taiwan

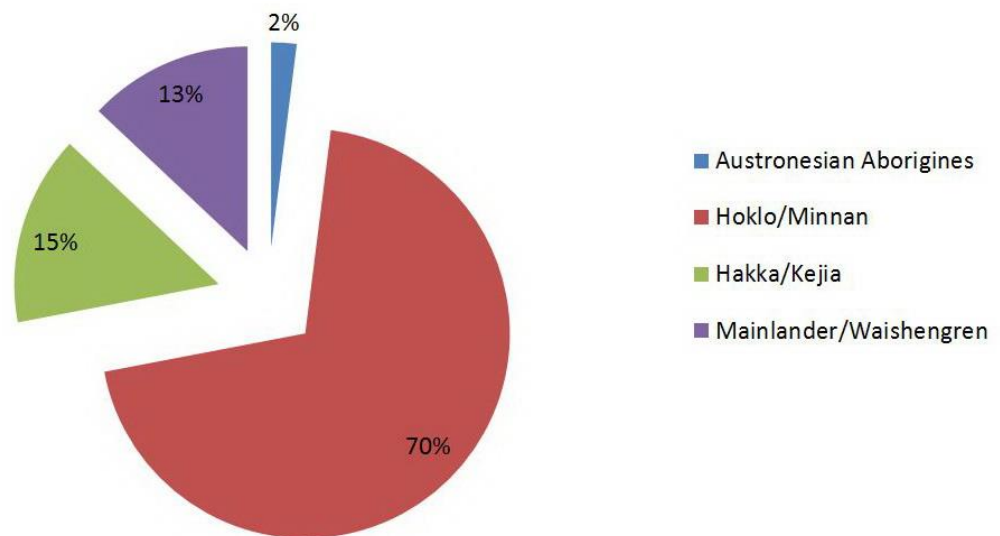


Figure 3: Demographics of Taiwan

1.2.3 *Waishengren* as diaspora by Cohen's typology

The Taiwanese anthropologist Chao Yen-ning was the first to propose that the first-generation *Waishengren*, in the sense of uprootedness and of the endless search for belonging, should be examined and analysed as 'the Chinese diaspora' (Chao 2001; Yang and Chang 2010: 118).¹⁴ According to Cohen's nine common features of a diaspora (1997: x), which were mentioned earlier in 1.1.1, *Waishengren* can be considered as having undergone unusual experiences of first being quasi 'victim diaspora,' as they were defeated in the civil war on mainland China and fled to island Taiwan from their homelands, then becoming 'colonial diaspora', the dominant power politically and culturally ruling its host society, and finally becoming 'minority' as one of the 'imagined four major ethnic groups' in Taiwan, or, as described by Corcuff (2000), a new 'constructed ethnic

¹⁴ The 'diasporisation' of *Waishengren*, or civil war migrants in Taiwan, began in early 1960s when their native place associations produced a specific type of reference magazines centring on the history, geography, and local customs of their original hometowns and provinces along with the promotion of related cultural activities (Yang and Chang 2010: 121).

category', after the democratic paradigm shift in the 1990s. Through their fluctuation of status from war refugees to colonialists and to being homelandless within only fifty years, the *Waishengren* have suffered peculiar predicaments of identity and uneasy relations with other populations in Taiwan (particularly the Hoklo, the largest in number). In order to provide clear premises for analysis, it is worth recalling Cohen's nine common features of a diaspora (1997: 26) listed in Subsection 1.1.1. Considering their situation both in the past and the present, the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, or *Waishengren*, arguably falls into six (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9) out of nine categories, which are accordingly reviewed below:

- A. (1) Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, and (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland

Like other global diasporas, the *Waishengren* experiences both nostalgia and melancholia for the lost homeland. When retreating from China to Taiwan, the KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek told his followers, particularly those serving in the military troops, that they would spend their 'first year in Taiwan in preparation, the second year striking back, the third sweeping up the enemy, and recover China within five years' (一年準備、兩年反攻、三年掃蕩、五年成功) [*yinian zhunbei, liangnian fangong, sannian saodang, wunian chenggong*] (Hwang 2006). This plan was never carried out. During the civil war between the KMT and the CCP, they were forced to leave their parents, wives, children, and other relatives in their original hometowns in China; most first-generation *Waishengren* had been uprooted, cut off from their homes and lands. However, it was then very difficult for anyone to acquire a flight or ship ticket to Taiwan, an island off China's east coast. Only those who were well-to-do or close to the ROC government and army, which held command of transportation, overcame many obstacles and stood a chance of arriving in Taiwan (He 2001:14-5). Cohen (1997: 180) carefully points out that, in practice, migration scholars often find it difficult to separate voluntary migration from involuntary migration, which is also true for the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

After living in Taiwan, the hardships and experiences of being destitute and homeless throughout the wars have probably created the most important collective memories of the diasporised Chinese (except the cream of the KMT) from various provinces of mainland China, which solidify them as a group of people (Shang 1995). The idea of a shared origin and birthplace is a common feature of a diaspora (Cohen 1997: 184), and the *Waishengren*'s shared homeland is, no doubt, an immense one. The grand dominion of China and its long-standing history compared with the smaller Taiwan once-colonised by 'foreigners' has been a useful means of affecting an air of 'authentic' Chinese superiority over its host Taiwanese society (Shen 1997; Chen 2007; Liu 2004; Storm 2008, Yang 2007).¹⁵ It is rare 'that a diaspora does not seek to maintain or restore a homeland to its former glory' (Cohen 1997: 185), but the fact that the *Waishengren*'s homeland was lost after 1949, and is a homeland with which they can now barely identify politically, ideologically, and socially, has tormented them ever since (Xue 2008).

B. (5) A return movement, and (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time

It has been a long and melancholy journey for the Chinese diaspora visiting their home in China since being uprooted from it a half-century ago (Xue 2008). During the Cold War period, the Chinese Civil War between the Nationalist ROC and the Communist PRC remained unsettled and no contact between two sides was permitted. In 1987, Jiang Sizhang and others organized 'the *Waishengren* Veterans Association for Returning Home' to help veterans to return their hometown in China; the movement may have facilitated the authoritarian president Chiang Ching-Kuo to agree to lift the ban in December 1988, to allow the people in Taiwan to visit their relatives in China, and this initiated the first wave of ex-

¹⁵ However, within the *Waishengren* there is distinct differentiation between higher and lower classes such as political elite and military soldiers; the latter may have not enjoyed any superiority while being in the grasp of dispossession and discrimination.

changes between peoples on both sides of the Taiwan Strait (The Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, 2011). Though most *Waishengren* travelled to China in the post-1987 reform era for homecoming purposes, few showed desire to re-establish residency there (Williams 2003: 182).¹⁶ Lengthy separation of Taiwan from China for more than a century (since 1895, except for the transient years between 1945 and 1949) has made the ROC and the PRC take different historical and political trajectories which bring divergent development in each society respectively. While Cohen says that the contrast between the current condition of the diaspora and its imagined past is resolved by actual return (1997: 185), this is the opposite for the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

The myth of return, which is exploited for various political and social purposes by the diaspora, the homeland and the host society, serves to solidify ethnic consciousness and solidarity when the cohesiveness of the local community is loosened (Safran 1991: 91), and vice versa. When the myth of return was disenchanted, the communities of *Waishengren* were threatened with disintegration. Feeling the pangs of uprootedness and loss of deprivation after the turbulent wars, people without myth of return turned for relief to the government as a source of stability. Deprived of their native land, removed to Taiwan in dramatic circumstances, mobilized by propaganda hiding from them the impossibility of returning to mainland China, and living in a traumatic situation, the *Waishengren*, with a unique esprit de corps, depended heavily on the ROC government for their living and housing (Corcuff 2002:172-173).¹⁷ Those impoverished were

¹⁶ In contrast, many native Taiwanese visited their 'ancestral home sites' mostly out of curiosity, while Taiwanese businessmen invest in manufacturing infrastructures to take advantage of cheaper labour and operating costs. In addition, it is now estimated that between 1.5 and 2 million Taiwanese people reside in China, a group widely referred to as the *Taishang* (台商, meaning Taiwanese business people) (Chiu et al. 2014: 1).

¹⁷ For example, the significant social underclass of impoverished/disfranchised KMT veterans, the Shandong exile students (a group of approximately 8,000 students from several middle schools in Shandong Province who came to Taiwan in 1949), the 'second exodus' from Hong Kong, Vietnam, Burma, Korea, and the Dachen Islands.

even encouraged to sacrifice for and identify with the ROC government and to believe that they would go down with the government if it were to collapse; a strong group consciousness was therefore enhanced and sustained.

In the early 1960s, various 'native place associations' (同鄉會) [*tongxianghui*] were organized on the basis of common local origins in China by the *Waishengren*, as by many other Chinese diasporas around the world; they all identify strongly with a particular hometown (鄉) [*xiang*] of a particular province (Corcuff 2002:173-4; Wang 2012: 206; Yang and Chang 2010: 121). These *Waishengren* from across China share similar histories, including suffering the Sino-Japanese War and their collective move to Taiwan (Lin 2014: 74). The intensity of differences between the *Waishengren* and native Taiwanese decades ago was described by Wachman (1994:57):

[N]ew acquaintances were usually 'placed' [...] as Taiwanese or Mainlanders. The common social chat among strangers attending dinner parties begins by establishing the origin of all persons present with jocular references to foods, speech peculiarities, or personality traits supposedly characteristic of each ethnic group.

This has dissipated with time and Taiwan's youth are less concerned about these matters than were their parents, who remember the dislocation that came from immigration or the transition from Japanese to the KMT rule. For the *Waishengren*, a moderate attachment to the past and difficulty in assimilation in the present and future still exist, which permit a diasporic consciousness to be retained. Although distinctions on the basis of identification are not as overt as in the past, one can perceive that people in Taiwan are aware of a 'we' and 'they' dichotomy (Wachman 1994:58). This consciousness is anxiously evoked as well as enhanced due to the fear of political shift and the 'threat' of Taiwanese indigenisation, particularly after the democratisation in the 1980s (Corcuff 2002; Chang 1993). However, this distinction is now negligible but not dissolved in people's assessment of others due to intermarriage between the imagined four

major ethnic groups and a common consensus of guarding today's fruition of freedom and democracy (Hsiao et al. 2006).

C. (7) A troubled relationship with host societies

Though urbanisation, education and intermarriage have reduced the differences between the major populations, they remain sharp enough to define much of the political map of the island: North Taiwan, where the *Waishengren* and the Hakka are concentrated, is typically partial to KMT; the South, where the Hoklo are dominant, is generally anti-KMT (Anderson 2004). Contingent histories and governmental mistakes may have caused the *Waishengren*'s troubled relationship with Taiwan society by: (a) tragic juncture around 1947; (b) authoritarian politics before 1987; (c) bad policies, and (d) language barriers.

At the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Taiwan, which underwent a fifty-year Japanese colonization (1895-1945), was already industrialized and modernised in various ways; Taiwan was then more developed than China (Ka 1998; Tsai 2009; Wang 2013; Zhang 2003). When Taiwan was surrendered by Japan to the ROC military forces as a trustee on behalf of the Allies of World War II in October 1945, local production modes, skills of personnel, infrastructure, medical supply, and technological knowledge in Taiwan made the mainland Chinese appear provincial and unskilled (Storm 2008: 45). In the Post-War period, inefficient bureaucracy and serious corruption of the ROC government misrule, and the KMT plundering of island resources to support its battle with the Communists on the mainland, caused serious inflation and then complaints in Taiwan, which reacted against the Chinese ruler and this reaction later evolved into the tragic February 28 Incident in 1947. During the uprising and the following 'White Terror,' tens of thousands of people died, including many islanders (the Hoklo and the Hakka) and the *Waishengren* dissidents who were alleged 'Communist spies' (Lai et al. 1991). After retreating to Taiwan in 1949, the KMT-led ROC government imposed martial law on Taiwan and relied greatly on military and police oppression; martial law was not lifted until 1987 when Taiwan began its democratisation.

Though not all *Waishengren* support the dictatorship,¹⁸ most of them had no encouragement from KMT to learn about the local culture; they had no choice but to believe the KMT-led ROC government when it told them to see the island of Taiwan as merely a place of temporary exile, thus they lived in Taiwan with a 'guest mentality' for years. The *Waishengren* also received disproportionate state benefits because a large number of them worked in the civil service and the military, while enjoying cultural and linguistic advantages, and hence better life chances over most native Taiwanese and Aborigines, but their relationship with the migrant party-state has been more complex and less cordial or reciprocal than commonly perceived (Yang and Chang 2010: 119). Altogether these showed us what bad policies could bring and how they hindered mutual understanding among different populations.

The language barrier was also a key issue. 'The inability of most of those Chinese migrants to converse with speakers of Hoklo or Hakka, the two main languages of the islanders, rendered them incapable of knowing and appreciating this rather different culture, specific to the island Taiwan, which had originated in Southeast China but progressively indigenized' (Corcuff 2002: 166-172). Like the British in the Dominions and North America, and the Portuguese in Brazil, the Chinese diaspora were able to establish their own hegemony in language, law, property rights and political institutions, thereby forcing the islanders into a defensive stance. For this reason, native Taiwanese vehemently distrust the *Waishengren* who are committed to promoting reunification, while the latter deeply resent and distrust the former who are devoted to working toward independence (Wachman 1994:63).

¹⁸ As survivors of prolonged military conflicts and social chaos, the *Waishengren* had little tolerance for political instability and, in most cases, they acquiesced (and sometimes assisted and supported) to the persecution of political dissidents; therefore they helped sustain an authoritarian migrant regime backed by the United States (Yang and Chang 2010: 120).

Since the 1980s, people in Taiwan have progressively developed a democratic system and enjoyed a liberal society looking into its future not past. However, the accelerated transformation of Taiwan, which was geopolitically seen as an appendage to China, into a national entity, has plunged the *Waishengren* into an identity crisis (Corcuff 2002:163-4; Yang and Chang 2010: 109). Despite the 'New Taiwanese' (新台灣人) [*xin taiwanren*], a new expression stressing 'the love of Taiwan' and the 'efforts made for Taiwan,' has surfaced in recent years (Corcuff 2002:186), all of which emphasize the future of Taiwan rather than the past, and refer to aspects of destiny instead of origin and heritage (Storm 2008: 51), there is still tension between Chinese nationalism (reuniting with China) mainly supported by the *Waishengren* and Taiwanese nationalism (achieving *de jure* independence) mostly promoted by the Hoklo in Taiwan. The Chinese–Taiwanese dichotomy is hence translated into a struggle between reunionists and pro-independence supporters with disparate outlooks about Taiwan's next step, and, unfortunately, anti-*Waishengren* attitudes can still be found among some pro-independence fundamentalists (Storm 2008: 40).

D. (9) The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries

Diasporas want not only the security and opportunities available in their countries of settlement, but also a continuing relationship with their country of origin; for them, the nation-state is being used instrumentally, rather than revered affectively (Cohen 1997: 195). Though the suspicion that Taiwan, as a state *de facto* under constant military threat from Beijing (PRC), is not 'loved' by the *Waishengren* deepens the fissure between Taiwan's imagined ethnic groups, the fact that many *Waishengren* have not only lived in Taiwan for nearly seventy years but also devoted themselves to the society for most of their life cannot be denied. While victim diasporas may 'find their experiences in modern nation-states enriching and creative as well as enervating and fearful' (Cohen 1997: 187), the Chinese diaspora flourishes with much less fear in Taiwan, which is nearly but not yet a totally tolerant society. The similarity of appearances and shared cultures originated or derived from China between the *Waishengren* and

native Taiwanese presumably contribute to this possibility. Inter-marriage and common social experiences (particularly after 1987) may also help the Chinese diaspora to get along well with the Hoklo, the Hakka, and the Austronesian aborigines (Brown 2004; Wang 2003). Native Taiwanese identities, forged initially by the KMT and recent CCP oppression, remain in the hands of the oppressor, while the *Waishengren* identity formed in the wake of indigenisation is subject to change with time. There are challenges as well as hopes for the diasporised Chinese to build a harmonious relationship with other populations in Taiwan. There will be great possibility of a distinctive enriching life for them if mutual understanding among one another is further developed.

1.2.4 *Juancun*: Its rise and fall

The many displaced, deterritorialized and transient populations that constitute today's ethnoscape are engaged in the construction of locality, often in the face of erosion, dispersal, and implosion of neighbourhoods (Appadurai 1996: 199). Though the *Waishengren* have been a dominant diaspora for decades, not all of them enjoyed beneficiaries of the regime, particularly not the disfranchised veterans who fled with the KMT from China and later led an unenviable existence in Taiwan (Corcuff 2002: 166). There is diversity within the *Waishengren* community in terms of occupation, social class, gender relations, and trajectories (Chao and Hou 1995; Hu 1989, 1990; Yang and Chang 2010). A clear distinction exists between the Mainlander elite (as the cream of China's intellectual, commercial, and political crops) and the soldiers in the ragtag army; the former are privileged, powerful, and more visible while the latter and their families lead much simpler lives, some experiencing deprivation (Wachman 1994:58-9), which calls for immediate attention and ethnographical studies.

After the mass evacuation of the Chinese Nationalists in the Post-War period, the personnel of the government in exile and its troops with their dependents settled primarily in North Taiwan and military bases across the island. Some of them, mainly government officials and high-rank military officers, were lucky enough to lodge at a limited number of Japanese-built dormitories while others,

probably 460,000 (30 per cent of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan), had to make do with whatever they could find: tents, quiet corners of temple courtyards or abandoned warehouses. This was obviously unsatisfactory, and before long the state started to construct residential compounds to house military personnel from China and their families, which was later termed '*juancun*' (meaning military dependents' villages, 眷村, identical forms for both singular and plural).¹⁹ According to the Ministry of National Defense (MND), a total of 888 villages with 110,000 households once covered nearly 5000 acres throughout Taiwan and the Pescadores (Penghu) Islands, some of which were located in urban areas.

In the 1950s, the first-generation houses made of convenient and inexpensive bamboo and straw construction materials were built as temporary accommodation prior to the ROC's failed recovery of the lost territory of China. In the early 1960s, more *juancun* were built using bricks and tiles due to slim hopes of re-taking China,²⁰ while inhabitants of first-generation houses expanded their houses to accommodate increasing family members by adding annexes into their front and back yards; their living space could double at the cost of narrowing lanes between the units (Hwang 2006). Originally built as provisional shelters, *juancun* evolved in stages from houses constructed poorly due to hastiness and limited funding into stable communities of one and two story brick and cement homes (Ross 2006). Generally, the whole village was first built in a grid plan with a clear boundary. Later on the grid system was slightly modified by the expansion of almost every residential unit; some villagers extended their own upper floors to accommodate increasing numbers of families once they became wealthier. The structure of the entire village was, is and will be the evidence of

¹⁹ Some of the early *juancun* were converted from empty Japanese facilities, but most were built from 1956 to 1980 with US military aid, special government revenue, and donations from the general public (Yang and Chang 2010: 117).

²⁰ The signing of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954 and the Joint Communiqué of 1958, as a result of two Taiwan Strait Crises, effectively destroyed the KMT's hopes of a military incursion into mainland China with the support of the United States (Yang and Chang 2010: 121).

the development of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwanese society. The evolving building types, from toilet-sharing sheds made of bricks, bamboo, and wood, to en suite housing made of concrete and corrugated steel plates, evinces the inhabitants' economic status and the relationship between households. The interior decoration, exterior signs, propaganda posters, flags, and the inscription on the stele at the entrance of the village have fluid and complicated meanings of these times.

Until the 1960s, most daily necessities such as rice, flour, salt and cooking oil were rationed directly from the government to these village homes on a regular basis. With their husbands of low salary frequently away on duty, wives/mothers in the *juancun* of lower class soldiers had to run their homes as well as making both ends meet by working part-time as maids or factory workers; children attended a nearby school where most of the students in class were from the same village and played in the same village square after school. Today, some veterans can be seen playing *mahjong* in the community centre or Chinese chess at tables in the park, while more elderly female villagers sit at front doors or chat in the alleyways. National flags and the emblem of the KMT are displayed in *juancun*, especially in autumn close to the National Day of the ROC on October 10th, or during an election. Most *juancun* in the Taipei county at the beginning of the twenty-first century remain much the same as they were in the 1960s, characterised by their gateposts, the master plan of a geometric axis with narrow lanes, adjacent low-slung residential units, red bricks and black roof tiles, and village squares or basketball courts (He 2001:45-6). These villages of different armed forces (air force, navy, and army etc.), once proud enclaves of the Chinese culture and isolated from the surrounding neighbourhoods by walls and gates, dialects and customs (Brownlow and Lin 2007), both 'protected' the inhabitants and led to their limited contact with the native Taiwanese outside of military dependents' villages (Corcuff 2002:170). Herded together and segregated, the Chinese diaspora in *juancun* began to bond together, and acted cohesively in their dealings with the native Taiwanese. The space of repression explicitly against the Hoklo, the majority outside *juancun*, and implicitly towards

the upper ruling comrades became incorporated into their own sense of community. However, the boundaries of *juancun* have always been porous; many diasporised Chinese soldiers married or remarried with native Taiwanese women (Hoklo, Hakka or Austronesian aborigines), who introduced outside people, work opportunities and cultures into *juancun* and enriched life within it (Yang and Chang 2010; He 2001; Lin et al. 1997). Intermarriage even increased among second- and third-generation *Waishengren* (Brown 2004: 237).

After 1996, under the redevelopment scheme, more than 700 villages have already been torn down to make way for city planning and the construction of new neighbourhoods since the 1990s, dispersing tight-knit *Juancun Waishengren* communities into new public housing (council houses) or elsewhere (Brownlow and Lin 2007; Ross 2006; Guo 2005: 17).²¹ This mass demolition of *juancun* and expulsion of their residents had the effect of destroying long-developed networks and social capital that had been saved for lifetimes while scattering people into oversized buildings, more precarious slums, or even into homelessness. *Juancun* was neglected and seldom studied because in the eyes of urban planners and local governments, these enclaves are defined as static appendages, cancerous growths on an otherwise healthy city; *juancun* was seen as an accumulation of inexpensive dwellings of poor Chinese servicemen and their family, rather than places of dynamic nature, of great success in creating a middle class out of poverty and ending inequality, and of importance in bridging multiple identities.

The breakdown of community and the following alienation from the society contributed to the growing support of the KMT party-state among the *Waishengren* as they established new families and rebuilt communities in exile, as well as

²¹ The first renewal project of *juancun* began much earlier in the 1980s when Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國), then Premier of the ROC, gave orders to rebuild deteriorating quarters and turned the page of diversity on *juancun*'s history (Guo 2005).

sparked a wave of nostalgia and heritage preservation (Yang and Chang 2010: 109). Since people tend to be especially concerned with having a past when their current identity has been challenged (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 212). Furthermore, some *juancun* inhabitants even turned the nostalgic sentiments into action of creative cooperation and social work.²² For example, Chang Rong Community (長榮社區) [*Chang-Rong shequ*] in Tainan City, a recently built high-rising council housing consisting of ten *juancun* communities, has become a vibrant home to the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan (Kao 2007; Pan 2007). Since identity is maintained through both social and material conditions (Woodward 1997: 12), *Juancun*, from being the *Waishengren*'s temporary dwellings to their nostalgic hometown in Taiwan, has proved itself a resourceful system of relationships for the study of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

Juancun contains multiple identities at different national, communal, military, and provincial levels, creating a unique ethnic niche and social network (Wang 2007). Though residents living in *juancun* came from different places with their own dialects and cultural values, they had to help one another in order to survive hardship after arriving in Taiwan decades ago. Taiwan's leading research fellow on the *Waishengren*, Dr Chang Mau-kuei at the Institute of Sociology in Academia Sinica, confirmed that *juancun* culture developed out of a shared experience of migration and a need to put down roots: 'The men had gone through war together and were survivors...It was important to find a place that felt like home in a time when resources were scant' (Ross 2006). Typical common culture and distinguishing ways of life from those of others are developed with time, and can be summarised in six points (He 2001:48-50):

²² Television soap operas such as 'Goodbye, Loyalty Village Number Two' (2005) and 'Story of Time' (2008-2009), and stage play such as 'Formosa Village Number One' (2008), have gained wide audiences, including the non-*Waishengren*, in Taiwan.

First, ancestor worship, which is usually one of the most important rituals during the Chinese New Year, and will be detailed in Chapters 2 and 4. Second, strong national consciousness (of the ROC), which is partly forged by their experiences of fighting against Japanese during World War II, a case of which will be provided in Chapter 2. Third, the diaspora Chinese ethnic consciousness, which is intensified by the uncomfortable fact of being designated as ‘fellowmen from Taiwan’ (臺胞) [*taibau*] by their relatives in homeland China after 1987, and repelled as ‘the *Waishengren*’ by the natives in Taiwan, which will be discussed in Chapters 3, and 6. Fourth, hierarchical thinking heavily influenced by military subculture, which will be evidenced in Chapter 4. Fifth, intimate social relationships formed on the basis of long-term neighbourhoods at the cost of less privacy, which will be deciphered through material culture in Chapters 2 and 5. Sixth, similar rhythm of life by the military calendar of social evenings, open-air cinemas, and many other collective activities, which will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6. The complex quaternity of *Juancun Waishengren* (or *Waishengren* in *juancun*), as civil war refugees, foreign settlers, political and cultural power-holders, and disfranchised victims, offers a unique case study on diaspora studies.

Figures



Figure 4: *Juancun* houses made of bricks and a narrowing lane between the units in Hsinchu City (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, July 31st, 2009)



Figure 5: Painted slogans on the gable of the house in an evacuated *juancun* in Taoyuan (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, July 17th, 2010)



Figure 6: A dilapidated *juancun* in Hsinchu City, soon to be replaced with modern, high-rise housing (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, July 3rd, 2008)

1.3 Understanding *Juancun*

1.3.1 Research of *Waishengren* and *Juancun*

A number of researchers such as Corcuff, Yang and Chang, and I are desperately aware of the precipitous rate of dissolution in the *Waishengren*, particularly of those living in *juancun*, whose ways of life are radically changing and whose traditional cultures are rapidly disappearing with the onslaught of neo-liberal expansion by land grabbing. Most past *Waishengren* studies focus on intangible ethnic relations, identity crisis, and the overall power structure of the party-state in Post-War Taiwan in constructing inequalities and exclusions among the imagined four major ethnic groups (Chang and Wu 2000; Lin 1989; Wang 1993 and 2003; Wu 1993), were inattentive to the history and the agency of human subjects. Though the meaning of *Waishengren* identity has been explained beyond the China-Taiwan binary opposition (Shen 2010), studied from the perspective of human actors (Hu 1990; Li 1997 and 2002), or through historical examination (Yang 2012), and interpreted from multiple angles such as organizational and communal determinants (Shang 2010), the conditions and memories created by war and exile that were crucial to shaping the experience and self-identification of *Waishengren* are still to be researched in order to understand the nuances of the Chinese diaspora (Yang and Chang 2010). Among all Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, quartered *juancun Waishengren*, compared to their counterparts such as the powerful elite and the middle-class civil servants, are underresearched and deserve more attention (Fan 2012; Yang and Chang 2010).

This research aims to bring the tangible side of the overlooked population, *juancun Waishengren*, to bridge the gap with a new perspective – material culture – on the diverse experiences of the Chinese diaspora in Hsinchu City, Northwest Taiwan, and as suggested by Dr Lily Cho (2007), to gain further understanding of diaspora as first and foremost a subjective condition marked by the histories of displacement and genealogies of dispossession. Through their material culture and the researcher's personal experiences, the subaltern Chi-

nese diaspora in Taiwan could be better understood. In the following paragraphs, the background of the chosen field site and the fieldwork between 2009 and 2010 are briefly laid out, before they are further detailed in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

1.3.2 The fieldwork site

According to the government's latest and last statistic data of ethnicity in 1990 (no further ethnic statistics are available afterwards mainly due to preventive policy against ethnic conflicts), the Chinese diaspora and their descendants were composed of more than one sixth (17.9 per cent) of the population of Hsinchu City, which was then higher than most of the counties and cities in Taiwan except Taipei City, Keelung City and Taoyuan County (Lin et al. 1997). Hsinchu City was an important military base during the Japanese occupation (1895–1945), from which the present layout of the city is largely derived. After the ROC government and its military moved to Taiwan, Hsinchu City became one of the most important air force bases. However, only officers of the air force and army and their family dependants were provided with the Japanese-built dormitories and schools as residences. The government did not construct military dependents' villages to accommodate its military personnel and their families until the 1950s (Hsinchu City Council 2008, Tsao 2007).

Only 10 of the 47 military dependents' villages in Hsinchu City survived the urban redevelopment in the 2000s (see Appendix 1). Most of the survivor communities were to be relocated to the new housing complexes in the following years. Among the remaining ten military villages in Hsinchu, two are Army villages, the other two are Combined Service Force villages, and the remaining six are Air Force villages. Apart from their locations, these villages differ temperamentally and materially in many ways because of the disparate natures among armed services and social economic status between military ranks. For example, Army Jincheng New Village (金城新村) [*jincheng xincun*], by-named 'Generals Village' (將軍村) [*jiangjun cun*], is mostly populated by officers of higher ranks and their families, and each house has an up to 330 square-meters garden. In

contrast, a soldier's house in normal *juancun* is usually 30 square meters without any private lavatory. Many remaining villages in Hsinchu City are either degenerating or have been penetrated by commercial activities; boundaries are vanishing and outward remigration rate is increasing. However, Air Force Loyalty New Village (hereafter LN Village) managed to maintain its boundaries and a certain feelings of belonging at my first visit in July 2008. It is located in a bustling area in East District (東區) [*dongqu*], only 5-minute walk from the main entrance of National Tsing Hua University (清華大學) [*qinghua daxue*], which is one of the top universities in Taiwan. Constructed by the LN villagers themselves in 1954, LN Village is becoming an ageing and dormant community where the first generation of the Chinese diaspora have stayed for more than half a century.

Figures

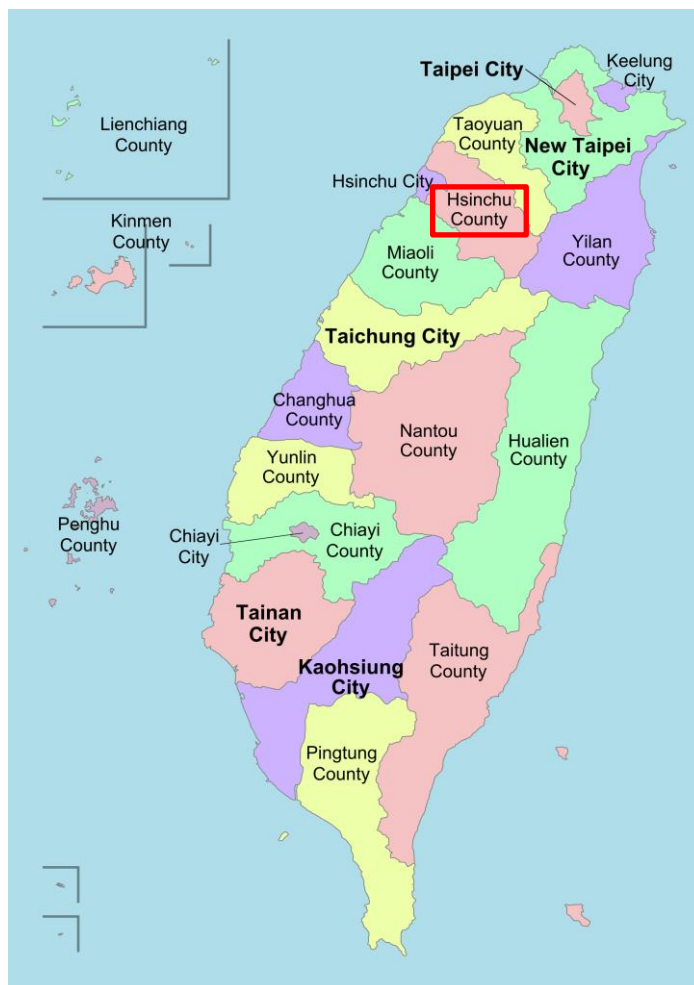


Figure 7: Hsinchu City located in North Taiwan (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

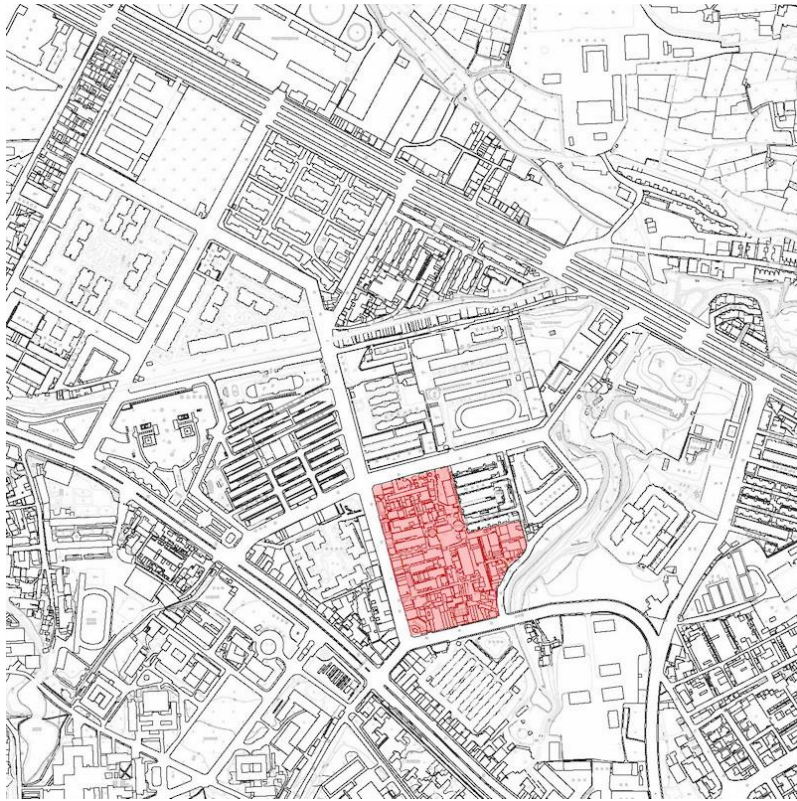


Figure 8: LN Village marked in red and its surrounding urban context

1.3.3 The methodology

Since most *juancun*, the military dependents' villages, were relocated to nearby high-rising housing in the 2000s, historians and ethnographers have started collecting oral history for around a decade (Lin et al. 1997: 18-23). Numerous memoirs and oral history volumes have also been produced by the *Waishengren* since Taiwan's democratisation and mass travel to China in the late 1980s due to an outpouring of repressed memories and emotional feelings (Yang and Chang 2010: 119). Over more than sixty years of settlement in Taiwan, many second-generation *Waishengren* have been leading a better life than that of their parents; some retrospect their childhood life in *juancun* and write down their own village histories (Li 2006).

New media such as the video recorder have also encouraged the masses to make the most of such technology, and documentaries of *Waishengren* are now being produced by their second or third generation as well as other ethnic groups (Schubert 2016). More stories of families and myths about ethnic con-

flicts, complaints against and expectations of the government are yet to be revealed. Houses assembled and expanded piecemeal by members of the family, mementos buried in dust-laden cases, souvenirs brought back from trips to China, pedigrees to be traced, and social conventions heavily-influenced by group and personal experiences, are all fraught with memories and histories of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. These are the untold past and present that can only be experienced and understood by participating observers with senses open to the quotidian life of *juancun*. Deeming that participant observation is not a technique of data collection but a way of knowing from the inside, rather than obtaining knowledge by standing outside the world, the fieldwork of this research started with being part of *juancun* world, learning to be a fellow traveller 'along with beings and things,' and then found that 'no contradiction between participation and observation because the one depends on the other (Ingold 2013); the understanding of diaspora as a subjective condition may therefore be achieved, at least to some degree. Though this is not an exhaustive what-to-study list, it covers the most important things, both tangible and intangible, to examine within this research of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. Details of studying these dimensions are discussed in Chapter 2.

My fieldwork started shortly after the fifteen-day Chinese Lunar New Year Festival (from late January to 9 February 2009); the last day of this, Lantern Festival Day, ended the celebration in luminant style and symbolized the beginning of the annual cycle. The fieldwork ended in the summer of 2010, before I returned to London for further data analysis and writing-up. Though most of the LN villagers spoke both home dialect and Mandarin (official language of Taiwan), it took me four months to fully grasp their Mandarin accents. When in the field, I redrew and updated the village plan on the basis of a map made by the government in 1997. Then I sought to reconstruct the evolving history of the village and of each interviewee's house. I documented and categorised the interiors of the houses by drawing and visual recording. I transcribed and translated the signs and symbols outside the houses with help from photographs. Though compared to writing which produces a vision and feeling for place, taking photographs of places is a

relatively passive act which does not produce knowledge in the same way (Tilley 2004: 223), I used as many tools as possible, including pens, audio recorders, cameras and my body, and kept their advantages and disadvantages in mind. All these works may first look mundane and sometimes boring, but it is the banal routines that make me known by the villagers and become part of the village under study. Useful tacit knowledge is formed both in digital drawings and in a bodily mind, which work in tandem to produce this dissertation.

Since images are ubiquitous in society, a study of images or one that incorporates images in the collection of data might be able to reveal sociological insight that is inaccessible by any other means (Banks 2007). The methodology of this research include mapping the village, documenting the human behaviour in public spaces, interviewing 40 households (mainly first-generation diaspora Chinese), comparing and contrasting their material culture such as houses and gardens, and finally analysing the construction of the identity of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. I seek contemporary understanding of belonging by exploring the way the Chinese diaspora strive to make themselves 'at home' in Taiwan. I analyze how they weave identities through neighbourhood (Chapter 3), in homes (Chapter 4), by attending to and exchanging potted plants (Chapter 5), and how they reinvent homelands through memories and reveries (Chapter 6). Since understanding place is a gradual process of familiarization (Tilley 2004: 223), drawing on 14 months' participant observation of villagers' everyday life and 40 home-based interviews, the research attempts to understand the intermesh between flesh and stone, flows and fixtures, as well as emotions and practices. It not only accounts for how home, homelands and identities are intertwined through movement, contingency and creativity, but also suggests that notions of belongings may crosscut and impact on that of belonging.

1.3.4 The thinking

Last but not least, I would like to rethink what the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan has to offer by considering 'diaspora as a process' (Ma 2003: 7), and as a way of looking at the world, which disrupts homogeneous ideas of nationality (Kalra et

al. 2005: 29). Diaspora can be considered not in terms of homogeneous groups of people, but rather as a process which has an impact on the way people live and upon the society in which they are living. Thus the diaspora can denote ideas about belonging, place and the way in which people live their lives. The purpose of this volume, therefore, is to highlight the fluidity of identity, appropriation, and existence. On the one hand, the research explores these as bodily and materially social actions rather than as ideational categories, while on the other hand it situates the case of *Waishengren* in the global context of migration and material culture. It represents a unique approach to understanding political migration, as well as new reflection of contemporary material and sensorial culture in anthropology. In its focus on the *Waishengren*, particularly those living in *juancun*, the research attempts to make a novel contribution to studies of China-Taiwan conflict on the more microscopic scale of human experience and adaptation through objects and places.

More than 60 years after 1949, the Chinese Diaspora in Taiwan are still gradually constructing multiple but uncertain identities while taking root in this dynamic landscape and becoming part of it. Their homelands used to lie there and in the past, somewhere other than here and now, a spatial and temporal removal from present circumstance. Yet, in order to cope with displacement in Taiwan, they are used to seeking and making homes in the present, either in *juancun* or beyond. For diasporic communities living in the land of multiple and irreconcilable claims, caught between Chinese and Taiwanese identities, by creating a seemingly flattened, juxtaposed, but co-existent worlds through material culture, between roots and routes, homelands are reinvented to mediate conflicting spaces of dwelling. Since the concept of what Brah calls 'diaspora space' includes the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those natives at home (1996: 179-181), these homelands are inhabited both by the diasporic and their descendants and by the native. Therefore researching *juancun* is not only a study of *Waishengren* and its contemporaries, but also an archaeology of how Taiwan becomes the way it is today.

In a fractal view, *juancun* surrounded by native neighbourhoods in urban areas, and Taiwan between hegemonic US and rising China, are both torn borderlands and can be seen as places of incommensurable contradictions, non-topographical sites, and interstitial zones of 'displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 18). Both *juancun* and Taiwan, similar at different levels, are unprecedented. Never before have so many confusing identities/nationalities from such conflicting histories been free to mix, or not, in such close proximity to each other. Taiwan, as an island of strangers, has seen vast numbers of diasporas coming, going or staying, such as Austronesians, Spaniard, Dutch, Han Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Malaysians, Thais, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Indonesians. Nevertheless, Taiwan is not a haven for all. People still suffer from crushing constraints and limited educational possibilities; many are still stereotyped by gender, class and sometimes 'ethnic groups'. However, from the evolving history and the syncretised culture of *juancun*, there are challenges as well as chances of making Taiwan home to different waves of diasporas, and of making it a better place to live in. Due to the unusual experiences of being both victim and colonial diaspora, the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan has brought great impacts on itself and its host society. As Taiwan is still in the process of forging its national/cultural identities, the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan is thus more than just one of the imagined four major ethnic groups, or the constructed ethnic category in society, but a process of loss and hope, and a novel way of looking at Taiwan and this globalised world.

Chapter 2 Framing Reflections on Fieldwork

Ethnographic knowledge is heavily dependent on the presence and experience of the fieldworker. More than any other discipline, the truths of anthropology are grounded in the experience of the participant observer. This experience yields much that is valuable, but also severely circumscribes the knowledge obtained (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 15).

This chapter combines critical fieldworking with voices of the diaspora under study and attempts to describe how the rescue research of *juancun* before its impending disappearance is approached. How do displaced migrants comprehend, interpret and make sense of the embodied experiences of arrival, journeying and gradually dwelling in an ostensibly-similar society?²³ In what ways does their body and mind select memories of home and homeland, as well as create stories about them? What influences do these processes have on *Juancun Waishengren*, the overlooked Chinese diaspora living in military dependents' villages in Taiwan, when they seek to create a sense of place and see their new location as home? Within material culture studies, ideas of the phenomenological tradition have been highly influential (Thomas 2006: 43), and the key issue in the phenomenological approach is the manner in which people experience and understand the world. A material and sensorial cultural approach on probing the aforementioned questions is explicated in the four following sections: phenomenological description of the space, reflexive experiences of the ethnographer, anthropological findings about the informant community, and the material culture of home.

²³ Modern Taiwan has arguably been under the Chinese émigré regime from 1949 to the present day, both of which are dominated by the Han people.

2.1 Phenomenology: Describing Diasporic Space

2.1.1 A phenomenological approach

Each one of us, then, should speak of his roads, his crossroads, his roadside benches; each one of us should make a surveyor's map of his lost fields and meadows (Bachelard 1994: 11).

The material world of which people are part and parcel, the corporeal senses through which a place is experienced, and the ways in which they all contribute to feeling at home, is essential to an holistic understanding of how people make sense of their world (Dudley 2013: 2). In the past, few anthropologists embraced their own experiences of sociality in the communities under study in order to produce the kinds of 'ordered' and 'professionally acceptable' ethnographic accounts, and the discipline conventionally relied on a relatively narrow range of data, most specifically on that of a visual-spatial type, while the sounds, smells, the sense of movement, and the unique mode of relationships associated with them did not appear in the public ethnographic record. This resulted in self-censorship and an endless (re)production of Western social categories in accounts of non-Western peoples, and then an accompanying inability to capture what constitutes sociality in communities of study (Helliwell 1996: 145).

It is now understood that first-hand sensori-motor experience is a basic requirement of the subjectivation process (Warnier 2001: 16), and the investigator bases the interpretation of a place or object upon the unbridled subjective experience (Thomas 2006: 43). The body considered as the subject of culture, or as the existential ground of culture, is a productive starting point for analyzing culture and self (Csordas 1990: 5, 39). First-person experiences can be used to gain access to the experience of other persons because of the incarnate and sensuous opening out of the 'primal' embodied subject to the world (Tilley 2004: 30). It is also recognised that places belong to our bodies and our bodies belong to these places because we learn how to orientate and re-orientate ourselves in relation to them; we form internalised representations which play a powerful role

in how we perceive places, which, in turn, become articulated through a somatic nexus (Tilley 2004: 9). Therefore, to truly know is to feel and perceive through all the senses, since sensory experience is a totality (Tilley 2004: 15). We are not the outcome or the meeting-point of numerous causal agencies which determine our bodily or psychological make-up; we cannot conceive ourselves as nothing but a bit of the world, a mere object of biological, psychological or sociological investigation (Merleau-Ponty 1962: viii). The real world is the perceived world is the phenomenal world (Tilley 2004: 16).

In the past decades, some ethnographic works have included, at least in part, a phenomenological framework of analysis: political violence in Northern Ireland (Feldman 1991), charismatic healing in North America (Csordas 1997), experiences of suffering in Taiwan, China, and North America (Kleinman 1997), aging and anxiety in urban India (Cohen 1998), agency and motivation of women in Northeast Brazil (Dalsgaard 2004), non-Jewish migrant workers in Israel (Willen 2007), women's experiences of birth and loss in rural India (Pinto 2008), social and cultural vulnerability among Ethiopian-Israelis (Seeman: 2009), experiences of chronic and acute pain sufferers on the island of Yap, Federated States of Micronesia (Throop 2010), and addiction and dispossession among heroin users in north-central New Mexico (Garcia 2010). Phenomenology involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject; it is about the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-world (Tilley 1994: 11-12). During the fieldwork, which helped me internalize the basic beliefs, fears, hopes, and expectations of the people under study (Fetterman 2010: 37), my fate was entirely and exclusively tied to the body which was the necessary and sufficient condition of being there (Casey 1993: 50-51). Since phenomenological ethnography is a practice that offers to its practitioners and readers certain ways of attending to the world (Desjarlais, 2012: 99), the following two subsections attempt to demonstrate how we can benefit from it by describing the soundscape and olfactory-visual atmospheres of LN Village (between April 2009 and February 2010). The first subsection provides a sketch of everyday sounds and voices which can be perceived as movements of orchestrated life in the diaspora

community, while the second gives readers a general view of communal life through images, smells and beyond.

2.1.2 A soundscape of a day in the village

The first movement always begins at the dawn of a day.

Steps of the early-present elderly, low, but audible, prepare the symphony of a day from around 5 am. After opening the squeaking doors and sweeping leaves from doorways, more and more people appear from low-rise terraced houses along the alley. It is so quiet that villagers, even a newcomer like me, can discern that different footsteps account for different people: the quick, the slow, the heavy, the soft, and the one with a rolling walker. Often when two sets of footsteps are heard in chorus, soon the voice of greetings follow, such as 'It's chilly today,' 'Yes, it is. So I couldn't sleep well last night. What day is today?' Sometimes the conversation develops into sharing experiences or specific discussion topics which may attract the attention of onlookers, and sometimes it simply evaporates like ephemeral dew. Later, after 6 am, more hustle can be heard. From the pitch and volume of the roaring engines of scooters and cars passing by my room in the heart of the village, I can tell if the local nine-to-five workers in the neighbourhood are in a hurry. The first movement of daily life commences and ceases within an hour. Then the village regains its composure and enjoys some tranquillity. In these quiet moments, I occasionally fell back to dozing because of lengthy note-taking the previous night.

As to seasonal differences at LN Village, the soundscape of the dawn described above is the version of sunny or cloudy days in early spring. There are fewer voices and sounds during rainy days or seasons in late spring and winter. However, most elderly villagers rise so very early all the year round that only birdsong precedes their footsteps in summer.

Then begins the first half of the second movement: the social early morning. After 6.30 am, many elderly women finish their breakfast at home and walk out to gather around the 'chat corner' for the first round of chatting. It always starts from

one person's comment on the weather or current news and is followed by the others responding before developing into discussions of a variety of topics. Sometimes it can last for over an hour until one person leaves for other daily activities such as playing mah-jong or grocery shopping.²⁴ Two or three may remain; they either continue talking or keep quiet company. Whilst the 'chat corner' calms down for the moment, Chang's Noodle Shop at the entrance of the village warms up for hungry customers. Many villagers are from the northern provinces of Mainland China where wheat is the staple diet, and eat noodles at almost every meal. Here, in the noodle diner, most customers from both inside and outside the village quietly devour their breakfast before going to work. Mr and Mrs Chang, the owners of the shop, skilfully prepare noodles and joyfully exchange greetings with frequent visitors and acquaintances passing by.

By 8 am, the discordant section of the second movement arrives. My landlady, Mrs Bian, begins her routine of 'waking her grandson Xiao Bian' to ensure he goes to work on time, whilst resistant Xiao Bian responds to it with anger every week day. The theatrical programme does not occur in the house where I am staying, but in the alley; Mrs Bian walks out of the front gate, looks back, and yells at the window of Xiao Bian's room on the upper floor: 'It's eight o'clock and time to go to work!' The 82-year-old lady may be too old to climb up to her grandchild's bedroom upstairs, but her voice is far-reaching, clear and loud. The wake-up call is undoubtedly heard in the neighbourhood. This generally ends with the diminishing engine roar of Xiao Bian's scooter following a short squabble between Mrs Bian and her grandson. Later, Mrs Bian's neighbours and friends come to comfort her by rebuking Xiao Bian's disrespectful manner towards his grandmother.

After a short intercession, the variety show starts the latter half of the second movement before noon. For many elderly LN villagers, such as my landlady, 10

²⁴ Mah-jong is a game of Chinese origin played usually by four people, with 136 or 144 rectangular pieces called tiles.

am is the fifth or sixth hour after getting up; therefore, it is time for them to return home from the alley and take some rest. She often turns on the TV around this time and watches it for half an hour whilst switching between channels: voices of news reporters and dialogue from the replayed episode of a soap opera which was first aired in the previous evening are therefore glued together with featured commercials. Sounds of TV from different houses sometimes echo with one another far and wide if the same programmes are broadcast in the living rooms.

After watching TV in the morning, the elderly walk out of their darkened houses with small windows again and meet their friends and neighbours at 'chat corner' (Figure 9). They have more topics to discuss this time: the morning's news headlines, what they have seen and heard in the food market, local gossip, and forthcoming reunions with family members at special occasions such as Chinese New Year in spring, the Dragon Boat Festival in early summer, and the Mid-Autumn Festival. This is often composed of more dynamic conversations between informants and passersby; it is a 'talk show' without a host in the alley.

Before 12 pm, everyone at 'chat corner' returns to their homes to prepare lunch whilst Chang's Noodle Shop is now full of the hubbub of voices (Figure 10). After lunchtime comes the third movement; it is an adagio. It is a relatively peaceful and quiet time of the day. School bells can be clearly heard in the village: an elementary school adjoining the village to its north and a senior high school to the east. The laughter of pupils on their way home can be heard along with light-hearted chatter. Teenagers climb up the campus wall and yell at the grocery store across the road, wanting to buy snacks and the grocery store owner happily delivers the sweets to them. Within an hour, lunchtime is over and naptime begins. It is extremely quiet and no one is seen in the alley except a postman carrying letters on his motorbike, bringing the unique sound of the old engine to the village (Figure 11).

The afternoon's sounds begin first with *calmato* before reaching *con brio*. The village gradually wakes around 1.30 pm and begins a new phase. The Karaoke Club members meet every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoon. Music of

tango, cha-cha, and rumba, with lyrics in both Mandarin and South-Min dialect, flow into the village from the 'leisure centre', a remodelled building of the kindergarten of former days. The former classrooms are divided into three rooms: two for mah-jong and one for karaoke. The grey-haired and some middle-agers, either retired or unemployed, gather here to entertain themselves by meeting old and new friends from inside and outside the village.

The ice cream van or vegetable vendor announcing its arrival via a mobile amplifier joins the choir of village life in the late afternoon, whilst elderly women gather in the alley for more talks. Sometimes a quarrel between family members, a mother and a daughter-in-law for example, is loud and clear enough to attract attention from neighbours and sometimes peacemakers too before long.

An ensemble of sound follows the dusk of a day. The end of the daytime in the village is marked by the melody of 'Maiden's Prayer', the signal tune played by all garbage trucks in Taiwan. The smaller-sized dust-cart drives through the six-meter alley to collect garbage before six o'clock every evening whilst people holding garbage bags wait in front of their own houses (Figure 12). It is the time that Indonesian and Filipino migrant care workers greet one another in their mother tongues and neighbours make small talk. In addition to the voices of different human languages, the sound of dogs howling along to the electronic version of 'Maiden's Prayer' sees dusk off.

The evening is relaxing time, accompanied by TV and moments of friendship. Before dinner, the clanging of frying pan and spatula is heard here and there; it is shortly followed by the sounds of various TV programs everywhere during dinnertime. Working family members from offices are welcomed home by clicks of roller shutter doors. When young people are back from overtime work later in the late evening, small talk on cell phones can be heard; some play music on keyboards or guitars. During the weekend, youngsters gather for gossip at either the balcony of their home or the pavilion at the car park, where they set off fire-crackers to celebrate festival days. If the morning belongs to the grey-haired, the night is arguably the time of the youth.

Finally, when the time nears midnight, voices and sounds from the alley become clearer against its placid backdrop: sweet talk between a young couple, a squabble between family members, a police car patrolling slowly with flashing lights, steps of different passers-by, and watchdogs barking at strangers in the deep night. The solo performance of nature in the darkness includes raindrops on rooftops in the wet season, shivering windows in windy winter, and the buzz of a persistent mosquito in summer. At the house I stay, stray cats can be heard jumping in and out of the courtyard, which is often the last sound I remembered before I fall asleep.

2.1.3 Visible scenes and olfactory senses

Whilst much daily routine in LN Village is revealed by the vibrant soundscape, life between buildings is usually in a dormant mode during most time in a day except for three vivid interludes. The first interlude comes in the early morning. Breakfast vendors selling sandwiches, burgers, egg cakes, rice and vegetable rolls, rice porridge, and steamed buns draw near the village block at 6 am, when the road belongs to pedestrians and is not yet occupied by vehicles. The morning air tastes sweet, with a touch of cooking steam and savoury burning. When on-street vendors are well prepared for business, a few weary-looking commuters and students grab their breakfast from them on their way to work and school. It is the time during which narrow lanes and alleys become busy. However, almost every nook and cranny is back to its solitude within an hour.

The second interlude occurs in three parts: at noon, and around 3 pm and 5 pm. At 12 pm sharp, there is always a long queue outside Chang's Noodles Shop; it is very popular with nine-to-fivers whose offices are located in the tall buildings outside the village. Later, after naptime, around 3 pm, a few corners are packed with chatting people sat on chairs and benches, most of whom are elderly women in their seventies or eighties. People who have moved out of the village sometimes drop by and join the chat. Occasional visitors include the postman on his motorbike who knows the village well and express couriers who do not. When approaching the end of the afternoon chat at 5 pm, a small yellow garbage truck

drives into the village to collect rubbish brought out by housewives, mostly daughters-in-law, as well as migrant care workers from the Philippines and Indonesia; it is one of the few times that all of them meet and exchange greetings for a couple of minutes with broad grins on their faces.

The final interlude arrives during the evening rush hour. Some villagers returning from work and school are welcomed by homemade food while others bring takeaways from the night market outside LN Village. After sunset, street lamps along the dark lane are lit up and attract a gathering of flying moths and mosquitoes. The community is still awake; the fluorescent glow of television screens can be glimpsed through half-closed windows. The fragrance spreading far and wide from the potted flowers and plants by the walls, behind the doors, and in the roof gardens, helps to alleviate the weariness of the day, particularly on summer and darker nights.

The changing seasons significantly affect an already constructed place (Casey 1993: 116), and so do festival days. There are two major festival periods during which the whole village visually, aurally, and olfactorily comes to life: the Chinese New Year (lunisolar new year) in winter, full of fluttering sparks at night and red couplets on the doors, and the Ghost Festival (on the seventh full moon in a lunisolar year) in summer, highlighted by joss paper (ghost money) and offerings.²⁵ Each family is expected to ‘worship the Lord of Heaven’ (拜天公) [*bai tiengong*], two days before the lunisolar new year, by presenting offerings of foods and drinks, and by throwing joss paper into blazing fire on the burner at midnight (Figure 13), while children and teenagers celebrate Chinese New Year’s Eve by setting off firecrackers which light up the night but leave scraps all over the surface of the lane the next day (Figure 14). On the morning of the Chinese New

²⁵ Ghost Festival, a popular occasion celebrated throughout China on the 15th day of the seventh lunar month. Historically, families offer sacrifices of the newly harvested grain to departed ancestors on this day, which also coincides with the Buddhist Ullambana (Deliverance) Festival and the Daoist Ghost Festival (Taiwan Academy 2013).

Year's Day, red spring festival couplets, which reveal wishes of the family, are posted on the front door of each house. Some couplets remain there for a whole year; others have been left in place even after the owners have moved out or died.

On Ghost Festival Day, when the gate of the hell is open for one month (therefore the following month is called Ghost Month), every household prepares an array of offerings before noon, such as a cup of white rice with three sticks of incense in it, pickled food, canned desserts, soft drinks, instant noodles and fresh fruits for ghosts, including those of the deceased ancestors from the lower realm, to consume during daytime (Figure 15). Some families even provide origami clothes and shoes made of joss paper for lost phantoms. In a sense, it is a street party held by the living to please the invisible spirits and to be spared a life away from their evil.

The metamorphosis from country to city left its mark on these two festivals, which were originally tied to the cycle of the seasons, and to rural life (and thus the lunisolar calendar). The Chinese New Year indicates the beginning of a busy season for farmers, while the Ghost Festival refers to the agricultural rites tied to death, and its urban transformations occur in front of each house in the lanes of LN village. The rituals hold the community together as well as linking the living and the dead.

In contrast to the world outside, full of traffic and a stream of passengers, during the daytime the whole village looks like a still photo frozen in olden times. Though clothes and quilts aired on walls of houses or in village squares are common scenes, adults are seldom seen in the public spaces of the village. Children play baseball or dodge ball at weekends, while teenagers on vacation gather around the square (car park) to gossip at night. It seems that only two people routinely saunter in the village: me, an anthropologist, and Mr Sun, an 89-year-old villager who lost his sight a few years ago but maintains his habit of rambling through the village (see also Subsection 5.2.1).

In addition to visible scenes, other senses can be experienced. Though there is little olfactory stimulus left today in this community due to emigration, aging and a diminishing population, the memory of preparing meals over an open fire in front of the house is still vivid in many villagers' minds. Fortunately, with gardens and potted plants kept as a pastime by some residents, the scent of soil after rain and those of flowers such as *Osmanthus fragrans* in autumn, may be amongst the few smells that are regularly experienced and valued.

At night-time, LN Village, with its few streetlamps, appears much darker than the nearby night market adorned with signs ablaze with colour. After dinner, some elderly ladies, such as Mrs Jia and her neighbour Mrs Tsai, love to sit side by side against the stele of LN Village, the symbol of the community, and watch figures and images of the outside world flow in front of their eyes before they call it a day.

2.1.4 A reflexive summary

In 2.1.2 and 2.1.3, the personal narrative works to be more inclusive from an empirical base, and questions 'the epistemological foundations of positivist social science,' recognizes 'the historical and social specificity of all viewpoints and subjectivities,' and emphasizes 'the perspectivity intrinsic to knowledge production' (Maynes, Pierce and Laslett 2008: 1-2). This reflexive approach recognizes the ethnographer's subjectivity in the formation of anthropological knowledge and demonstrates that 'evidence is created relationally and contextually through subjective processes which constitute fieldwork and ethnographic writing,' rather than those in the form of fieldwork data (Chua, High and Lau 2009: 13). Subjective processes imply that there have always been two fields, one in 'the field' and the other at the desk where ethnographic writing takes place, and the fieldworker has to manage and thus inhabit both fields at the same time (Strathern 1999: 1-2). The community as lived complexity is thus revealed by both narratives and images learnt from living in LN Village. The multiple speeds and movements of people coming and going through lanes, pursuing different aims, meticulously frame the mingling of views, sounds and smells. I learn 'by paying attention to what the world has to tell us' (Ingold 2013: 1). Gradually increasing familiarity

with the village enables me to read between the lines and decode its scenes/signs, which will be detailed in the following chapters. The 'subjective' aspects of experience, both for me and for the villagers, are the means through which the material world reveals itself to us (Thomas 2006: 57). The villagers routinely draw on their local knowledge to give meaning, assurance and significance to their lives, while the place acts dialectically to create the people who are of that place (Tilley 1994: 26). It is through walking, singing, talking, sweeping, and sleeping, that a home and homeland is created. As opposed to a thin and sensorily impoverished 'analytical' account, a richly textured phenomenological sensory 'thick' description in which this section endeavours to reflect on the character of human experience, is expected to evoke the sensuous qualities of place and landscape in a multisensory way (Tilley 2004: 28). There is a complex array of experiential, discursive, and political features involved in this subjective or social reality, and a phenomenological framework does leave certain questions unanswered, particularly the vast political forces that pattern those lives, which were major concerns of past research. The phenomenological description does not end here but extends to the rest of the volume to various degrees when applicable.

Figures



Figure 9: The most popular 'chat corner' where elderly ladies greet one another every day



Figure 10: Chang's Noodles Shop and the queue



Figure 11: A postman on his motorbike



Figure 12: The garbage truck with an amplifier on its top and people holding garbage bags



Figure 13: Worshipping the Lord of Heaven: offerings on the table and a burning furnace at midnight, two days before the Chinese New Year



Figure 14: Red scraps of firecrackers left on the ground on Chinese New Year's Day



Figure 15: The Ghost Festival Day: throwing joss paper into a burning furnace and a table full of offerings

2.2 Ethnography: Becoming a Temporary Family

2.2.1 A 'foreign' wandering stranger

In an unfamiliar place, one must consciously think about relationships and learn where things are (Tilley 2004: 11). Living in a community 'foreign' to me makes me see things more clearly, such as the values, power of dominant ideas, and patterns of behaviour in the way people walk, talk, clean, hoard or garden. Moreover, as a research student from UCL, who meditatively sauntered around the village and interviewed people day after day, I was deemed a partial foreigner, an object onto which the villagers projected Englishness and strangeness. Inasmuch as this research began with wandering, which I did every day during the fieldwork, Simmel's (1971) insight on wandering and strangers is worth a review. He sees wandering as a state of detachment from every given point in space, and as the conceptual opposite of attachment to any point. However, I was not a wanderer, but a wandering stranger.²⁶ Unlike the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, the stranger is considered as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow - the potential wanderer, who, although he/she has gone no further, has not fully lost the freedom of coming and going (Simmel 1971: 143). During the fieldwork year, I remained fixed within a certain spatial circle and within a group whose boundaries were analogous to its spatial counterparts. My position within it was fundamentally affected by the fact that I did not initially belong to it, though the union of closeness and remoteness is embodied in me as the fieldworker, a stranger. Since I was not bound by roots to the particular constituents and partisan dispositions of the group, I was more able to confront these with a distinct attitude, which is a unique structure composed of remoteness and nearness, indifference and involvement (Simmel 1971: 145). Despite my being

²⁶ As a Taiwanese of Ping-pu (aboriginal) and Hoklo (South-Min) origin, I kept in touch with classmates, teachers and colleagues of Chinese diaspora (or *Waishengren*) only through non-kin relationships, but never became a part of their community until my fieldwork in LN village commenced in 2009.

inorganically appended to it, a stranger like me is not only an organic member of the group (Simmel 1971: 149), but active too, who receives surprising revelations in the confidence of others, playing the role of a confessor when matters are kept carefully hidden from everyone else.

As an ethnographer (or fieldworker) with a research question concerning material culture, theories of diaspora, and a variety of conceptual guidelines of ethnography in mind, I am a human instrument, through which *Juancun Waishengren's* terrain is explored and described, then their social data collected and analysed, and my experience and interpretation is, at the same time, a method of inquiry and a mode of bodily Being-in-the-world (Tilley 2004: 2). Through Geertz's eyes, both experience-near and experience-distant knowledge was gathered in this research,²⁷ and meaning is made in the process of living 'because understanding comes in the midst of translating between experiences near and distant to the fieldwork itself' (Sykes 2005: 52). Field immersion is repeated in the subsequent study away from the field, and the effect that certain practices and artefacts have in people's lives is comprehended or even re-created in the context of writing about them (Strathern 1999: 5). When I recall the experience in the field before moving on to write, cogitate, and analyse, it is often from a sense of a sound, a smell, a sight, or a bodily sensation, and the specifics of what is recollected are 'felt again' within the imagination (Dudley 2013: 4). In Strathern's terms (1999: 6), the ethnographic moment, a moment of knowledge or insight, works as an example of a relation which joins the understood (what is analysed at the moment of observation) to the need to understand (what is observed at the moment of analysis).

²⁷ 'Experience-near' anthropological knowledge is the puzzling array of understandings that make up the daily knowledge gathered from specific questions, mundane interactions and sentimental communications; it can be written down for future reference in fieldnotes or personal diaries. The 'experience distant' knowledge might be the details and interpretations of the fieldnotes (Sykes 2005: 52).

Therefore, the following two subsections demonstrate how the ethnographic moment relates my experiences of being an ethnographer to the findings about contact and exchange in LN Village within the re-felt imagination. The first subsection concisely reviews the process of a researcher who takes root in the field, while the second explains how the study behind doors was made possible through exchanging information, food and paper architectural models.

2.2.2 Contact: home, family and identity

*To enter another culture is to stand nervously in front of an alien house
and to step inside a world of unfamiliar objects and strange people
(Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 4).*

My first visit to LN Village was in the summer of 2008. It is still vivid in both my mind and body. The atmosphere was uniquely in contrast to its surrounding urban neighbourhood: the village was a bounded, quiet area dotted with few tall trees (hoop pine, camphor trees and Chinese mahogany) and clustered potted plants. It was a residential quarter made up of dilapidated houses, some occupied, some empty, half of which were then in use but barely maintained. It looked as if it was soon to be abandoned, on the way to becoming a ghost town. The day of that visit was full of fear, partially due to my unfamiliarity with the environment, but also due to suspicious looks from behind half-shut doors.

I remember well the first time my landlady and I met in Lane 14 of JG 1 Road. That was a spring afternoon in February 2009, before officially commencing my fieldwork. I purposely made a visit to pay respects to Mr Fang Jr, the neighbourhood magistrate, and then sought his advice on finding a place to live in the village. Mr Fang Jr led me out of his house and then introduced me to a few onlookers right in front of my landlady's house. He loudly asked, 'This young man is a PhD student from London, and he would like to rent a room. Is anyone willing to offer him a place to stay for one year or so?' I was extremely nervous while people looked me up and down, exchanging whispered comments about me. Fortunately to my surprise, only a few minutes later, a hunchbacked old lady positively replied, 'He can stay in my current bedroom near the lane corner, but I

need a month to make some changes.’ At the beginning of April the same year, I successfully lodged myself into Mrs Bian’s former bedroom, from which she moved to the room in the inner part of her home, the ‘Hub House’ (see 4.1.2).²⁸

But I did not see LN Village a home from home until the winter of 2009-2010. My room was first used as a Japanese Fuel Plant office, then Mrs Bian’s son and daughter-in-law’s room, and later became Mrs Bian’s bedroom after her husband passing away and her children moving out to the house opposite to hers, and finally offered as a room for rent to me. There were cracks on the ceiling, photo frames hung high and nails in the walls, stains and marks left by furniture on the floor. They all appeared to chart a new continent of multiple histories. After several months living in the room of layered memories, I became part of it and vice versa.

The house where I stayed during my fieldwork was located at the corner of Lane 14 and an alley. The ‘chat corner’, the most popular social hot spot amongst a few others in LN Village, was right opposite the wall of a window next to my bed. Many early mornings I woke up overhearing lively discussions or heated debates between the local elderly, while insomnia, the ethnographer’s ailment in the majority of those first few months, was accompanied by tiny noises, such as the trembling windows during thunderstorms, or the hum of cars at daybreak and late night. I was literally in the middle of a carnival of sound from the moment I awoke, within which voices and sounds created a powerful sense of community. Similar experiences have also been felt and documented by anthropologists, Helliwell for example. Her immersion in the ‘field of voices’ within the long house uncovers unexpected dimensions of Gerai social life (Helliwell 1996). The highly permeable and versatile boundary through which a variety of resources and information move in both directions will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

²⁸ A detailed description of Mrs. Bian’s house is found in Chapter 4.

As a married ethnographer fieldworking in a village in Hsinchu, 60 miles away from my home in Taipei, I commuted between the two every week. I usually left the village at night and returned to the village few days later at midnight, so that I had the chance to greet the villagers in the early morning next day. It was the changing experience of approaching the village at night that made me realize, through passage of rites, that I found myself one more home from home. In the first few months I discerned fear and reluctance of returning to my fieldwork room, where I felt less physically comfortable with little mental security. However, resistance is a fundamental and necessary experience for the human body: through feeling resistance, the body is roused to take note of the world in which it lives, and comes to life when coping with difficulty (Sennett 1994: 310). 'Things' did change as I became more familiar with the place and began to develop relationships with the villagers. Half a year later, I enjoyed seeing the little lights in the village houses on the way to my room at the lane corner because I knew that I had friends and 'family' here. Houses started to be alive rather than 'motionless'. With the lights they see and vigilantly wait (Bachelard 1994: 34); they even integrated the movements by means of which I advanced on the door. It was an inviting and welcoming moment because it 'always possesses certain kinesthetic features' (Bachelard 1994: 73). My body was therefore ready to be part of the village, to feel, to some degree, at home, and even for a period of time, to be a member of Mrs Bian's 'family.'

But what kind of 'family' am I? If kinship is about the basic facts of life (Fox 1967: 27-30), and it stems from several different sources, it is not simply about sleeping together but also about living, eating together and dying together (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 19). In other words, it is processual. People are always conscious of connections to other people who are socially, materially, and affectively related. These connections can be described in genealogical terms, as well as in other ways. 'Biology' or 'nature' has been the grounding for the 'social' in the West, but this relationship now appears to have been destabilised; the boundaries between the biological and the social which have been so crucial in the study of kinship are, in many cases, distinctly blurred (Carsten 2000: 1-3). To define my

being a ‘family’ in LN Village, this subsection aims to operationalize transformation through focusing on the different materialities central to the making of this kinship (Brandtstädter and Santos 2008).²⁹

A few examples may better explain this. During the fieldwork year, for many elderly informants I was most likely the only person who was of their grandchildren’s age and keen to understand their daily life. In or after interviews, I was usually offered various kinds of food, including fruits, salty bean cake (豆沙餅) and scallion pancake (蔥油餅), desserts like sweet eggs with osmanthus wine (甜酒桂花釀蛋), and home-cooked meals and fried dumplings bought at the diner around the entrance of the village. Mrs Pan, the enthusiastic karaoke singer, even invited me to the ‘Weiya’ (尾牙), the annual banquet of the karaoke club, which I joined several times for participant observation.³⁰ Mrs Bian, my landlady, who had been having meals by herself for years, very much enjoyed her daily dinner at a traditional round table with me (a student tenant) and A-Di (her Indonesian care worker) in 2010. The rituals of ‘family meals’, previously central to the house, were recovered and observed with delight.

There were also moments when I was mistaken for my informants’ close friend or relative. One quiet afternoon in the In-Building House (see 4.1.8), while Mrs Guo talked to me at length about her difficult daily life, and the misfortunes of her deceased daughter, her husband, who had suffered a stroke, sat in the corner. Mr Guo was severely limited in his ability to communicate and could only mumble words, but he seemed to understand the hospitality to me from his wife. Before I left, he came to hold tightly my hands and thank me for visiting him and his wife,

²⁹ The term ‘materialities’ does not only comprise ‘things’, but also emotional and memory practices (which will be further explored in Chapter 6).

³⁰ Weiya (尾牙) is a traditional annual celebration for Tudigong (the earth god), on the 16th of the 12th lunar month in Taiwan. It is also an occasion for employers to treat their employees to a banquet as thanks for their hard work throughout the year, and a time for club members to gather together.

by repeating 'Long time no see! But very sorry that I forgot who you are'. By becoming a temporary family, I saw, heard, and tasted things I could never feel as merely an ethnographer. However, in a relatively deprived community, people under the same roof have to share limited resources and thus form intense (but not necessarily stable) relationships. For instance, Mrs Chou in the Storage House (see 4.1.6) once told me that she had done her tenant's laundry for three years, but was still suspicious of her tenant stealing stuff from her and complained about it many years after the tenant left.

I remember well that my landlady, Mrs Bian, warm-heartedly encouraged me in our first conversations to find a job in rising China after graduation. However, one year later, in the last few weeks before my returning to London for writing-up, she asked me to change my anthropological profession, which was not in popular demand, in order to find a position in the nearby highly popular Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park (新竹科學工業園區) (Mrs Bian, informal dialogue, 15 July, 2010). I then became aware that after one year of dwelling in the village, some things had changed forever. Carsten (1997) has shown how Malay relatedness is created both by ties of procreation and through everyday acts of feeding and living together in the house: both procreative ties and shared meals create shared substance or blood in a community largely made up of migrants. In a similar way, by following a focus on what she calls the 'everyday' (2000: 18), such as small, seemingly trivial, or taken-for-granted acts like sharing a meal, giving a dish of cooked food to a neighbour, dropping in at a nearby house for a long chat, this research documents the case of *Juancun Waishengren* in Taiwan with a careful examination of the symbolic and social significance of the house and the people within.

I might be accepted by some villagers, and deemed as, or even expected to be more than a temporary 'family,' but the question of 'who am I' was brought up almost every day during the period my fieldwork. This may be because I come from outside the village and human identity presupposes the identity of place. When a person wants to tell us who they are, it is usual to say: 'I am a New Yorker', or 'I am Roman' (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 21-22). Though it is now more

widely recognised that identity is formed and solidified on the basis of common social, economic and political experiences, some people may still misunderstand ethnic and national identities as being based on common ancestry or culture. If there is an ongoing process of identification, in which people seek some unified sense of themselves through symbolic systems and identity with the ways in which they are seen by others (Woodward 1997: 45), *Juancun Waishengren* are destined to be haunted by the same question of ‘who am I’ during the process. Since Taiwanese society has taken a rather different socio-political path from China’s for more than a century (since 1895, see Subsection 1.2.1), Taiwanese identity does not neatly correspond to any of the PRC identities – ethnic minority or ‘regional’ Han (Brown 2004: 7). In a society tormented with the identity conundrum between Taiwan and China, it was inevitable that in a community composed of mainly diaspora Chinese I would face inquiry about my ethnic identity. And the following anecdote proved the process of identification.

One day in the autumn of 2009 during an interview at the Grocery House (see 4.1.4), Mrs Pan, a first-generation diaspora Chinese, asked me ‘Ni Shi She Me Ren? (你是什麼人)’, literally meaning ‘what kind of person are you’ or ‘where are you from’, and I honestly replied that ‘*Fenyang, Shanxi* (山西汾陽, a small city in a north-west province of China)’ was inscribed on my great grandfather’s gravestone, which implied a Chinese lineage (but possibly a distant one). It seemed that she wanted to make it clearer so she further questioned, ‘where is your father from?’ While I choked on my reply, the shop owner Mr Yen,³¹ a second-generation *waishengren*, kindly offered me his help and said, ‘Just look at the ancestry place column on your ID card.’ ‘It says Taipei City,’ I revealed, which

³¹ Mr. Yen, born in 1952 in Tainan (South Taiwan), spent his childhood in Kaohsiung. He moved with his parents to KN Village near LN Village in Hsinchu. He fell in love with his senior high school classmate, Ms. Wang, in 1969. He enlisted in 1972 and married in 1977. After WWII in 1949, five out of six (except for the eldest one) of his siblings were born in Taiwan. His maternal grandfather was well-off because he was a member of the Green Gang (a Chinese criminal organisation that operated in Shanghai in the early 20th century), and his mother was well educated (a senior high school graduate) because her family ran a business in the salt industry.

indirectly denied me as a *Waishengren*. Taipei is the capital in Taiwan, thus this does not prove that I am 'authentic Chinese'. The answer suddenly introduced doubt and distrust while they hesitated in accepting my non-Chinese identity. A few seconds later, perhaps due to my living in the village for more than six months and helping document the everyday life of it since, they decided to count me in as part of the community. Mr Yen later showed his amicability by revealing that his wife Ms Wang was not a 'real *Waishengren*' either because she was adopted by her *Waishengren* parents from a Taiwanese family outside of the village.³²

There was a contrasting but interesting moment worthy of mentioning. My spoken Mandarin gradually sounded more like that of the PRC Chinese with a northern accent after living in London for over three years (2006-2009) befriending a few PRC Chinese there. Thus, in the summer of 2010, during an interview with Mrs Liu, her husband and son overheard our conversation and mistook me as a student from China because of my Chinese accent. This time I replied without hesitation that I was Taiwanese. To my surprise, they responded with an intriguing idea, 'If you were a Chinese student, it would have been better than fine. China is now prospering and it is great to be a Chinese.' It reflects the fact that Taiwan was once much more prosperous than the PRC, but, since the 1990s, the growth of the mainland Chinese economy has far outpaced that of the island. Therefore Taiwan has become a small moon revolving around the huge planet of Chinese industrialisation (Anderson 2004),³³ which may have the impact on the identity of some Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

³² According to the official document, Ms Wang was born in 1953. But the actual year of birth remained unknown because she was a native Taiwanese adopted by her parents. Her father, Mr. Wang (1917-1987) and Mrs Wang (1920-2000) had two biological daughters, who were entrusted to the care of Mrs Wang's family in Yun-nan (South-west inland China) during war times. They failed to bring them to Taiwan when retreating from China to Taiwan after WWII.

³³ Historically, capital as well as labour flowed from the European states to their former overseas settlements, once these gained independence. In the case of Taiwan, the process has happened the other way around. Vast amounts of capital – in the region of \$100 billion – have gone from the island to the mainland, and now reverse migration is following investments: half a million Tai-

As shown above, in research with diaspora villagers, there is a double exilic layer, with the subject community's displacement deepening the anthropologist's own exile in the field (Dudley 2013: 5). From my first visit to the village and then to the experience of and reflection on identity issues, the unique position prepares the research with an embodied method of approaching boundaries of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. According to Waldenfels (2011: 9), the ways one handles boundaries serve as a clear indication of the underlying spirit of an epoch.

2.2.3 Exchange: food, gifts, and things in return

What we eat can tell us quite a lot about who we are and about the culture within which we live (Woodward 1997: 31). Food is often intimately associated with both the particular cooking and smells of one's natal home and more generally the 'taste' of one's homeland (Miller 2001: 9). Practices relating to food consumption are often used to define and maintain boundaries of identity of a minority ethnic community (Palmer 1998: 189). For villagers living in *juancun*, it is through food and its social activities such as cooking, eating, and exchanging recipes of typical hometown dishes from across China that they make *juancun* home from home in Taiwan. In this respect, the sense of home is emanating not from a house but from mobile material culture, food (Miller 2001: 9).

Lupton (1996: 1) suggests that food and eating are central to our subjectivity and our experience of embodiment, or the ways we live in and through our bodies. It seems that food makes not only human form (Farquhar 2006: 146), but also human place, or vice versa. Cook and Crang (1996: 132-133) view foods 'not only as placed cultural artefacts, but also as dis-placed, inhabiting many times and places'. Therefore, food, eating and *juancun* together provide good thoughts, and memory is the key. Memory is embodied and often recalled via the sensa-

wanese currently live in Shanghai and other coastal cities of the PRC. Such economic and demographic intermeshing has only just begun, which represents the opposite of the European settlement pattern (Anderson 2004).

tions of taste and smell (Lupton 1996: 32). The smell and taste or thought of certain foods, which serve to trigger memories of previous food events and experiences around food, may elicit nostalgia to the extent that they shape preferences for food in adult life (ibid: 49). For Chinese, the main concerns in their cuisine are colour, flavour, and taste (Hsu and Hsu 1977: 316), even including visual effect. As Anderson and Marja (1977) pointed out, before the 1980s in Taiwan, groups from different parts of the mainland merged to a very limited extent, and merged even less with Taiwanese groups; hence cooking styles were of great importance as origin markers and affirmations of identity. However, after living in Taiwan for about sixty years, the food landscape of Chinese diaspora seems to be changing and is yet to be explored in fieldwork. This change may embody the idea amongst South China that ‘food is communication’ (Anderson and Marja 1977: 375).

The informant who lives in ‘the Big Building’ (see Subsections 4.1.1 and 4.1.8) once described to me the vivid food communication in the corridor between two rows of in-building houses under one large roof in the past:

We moved mobile charcoal stoves out of the house to the inner lane and cooked there (so cooking smoke would not fill in the house). Neighbours learned to cook various dishes from one another by watching others while cooking. Everybody’s hometown flavour tasted different (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010).

Though most villagers were too old to cook and many ordered takeaway food from nearby diners during my fieldwork year (see Subsection 3.1.3), they still wanted to communicate with me through a variety of food on sundry occasions. ‘I bought the grapes especially for you. Take your time to eat them all’ (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009); ‘I won the mah-jong today. Let me buy Mrs Bian, Mrs Jia, and you something for dinner’ (Mrs Zheng, interview, 14 July, 2010); ‘Don’t go right after the interview ends, and stay for dinner’ (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010); ‘Tea or water? Here in my house, make yourself at home’ (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010); ‘Have you had your meal? Let me make eggs

with preserved petals of sweet osmanthus for you. Doesn't it smell good?' (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010); 'Do you want to eat anything? Let me buy you a bento (lunch box). I also bought lunch boxes for those workers who repaired my leaky roof a few days ago' (Mrs Fang, interview, 13 July, 2010). In addition, I spent a lot of time having lunch in the inner courtyard and dinner at the dining table with my landlady, Mrs Bian, together with her Indonesian carer, A-Di. We sometimes had noodles for lunch at noon; we sat quietly side by side on the porch and watched neighbours or couriers passing by. Company was shared between a lone ethnographer and a lonesome elderly woman in her eighties. It is the nature of food to be shared out (Mauss 2002: 73).

Perceived through a combination of senses and evoking the experience of home as a sensory totality (Petridou 2001: 88-9), food constitutes a sense of home in the lives of younger villagers. For many second-generation *Juancun Waishengren*, there were two ways of eating a meal in *juancun* when they were young: either eating in at table, or eating outside of the house, where a mother would feed not only herself and her children with a large bowl, but also the children of neighbours who played with hers (王蓉蓉 and 王伟忠 2008: 20). 'Your specialty dish of scallion pancake is always my favourite,' a passing-by neighbour's son in his forties greeted Mrs Bian, while she smiled from ear to ear (Personal conversation, 10 December, 2009). Life in *juancun* is painted vividly when we consider the material culture of food. Through the exchange of food between the first generation, the second generation and even an alien like me, those who have meals together in the village become part of a big family.

It is worth noting that all kinds of food given to or shared with me in the village were from female informants, while all three token gifts were from male villagers; I also received things much more often from the former than from the latter. There could be a gendered facet of gift exchange in the village, but I reserve my comments on and discussion of it due to the biased sex ratio of informants in this research (See Table 5-6 in Appendix 3). The first gift I received was from the head of the village, Mr Chang (see Subsection 4.1.9). It was a purple necktie made in Shanghai with an orange Chinese dragon on the front (Figure 16). The

dragon, the most common mythical creature in Chinese folklore, was embroidered, flying by cirrus clouds with an open mouth, a red tongue, two big black eyes, two elongated tentacles, four sharp teeth, and four four-clawed feet.³⁴ The significance of this mythical creature could be exemplified by the popular song 'Heirs of the Dragon', written by Taiwan singer/songwriter Dejian Hou (侯德健), right after the United States changed its diplomatic recognition of Chinese government from the ROC to the PRC in the late 1970s:

*In the Ancient East there is a dragon
Her name is China
In the Ancient East there is a people
They are all the heirs of the dragon
I grew up under the claw of the dragon
After I grew up I became an heir of the dragon
Black eyes, black hair, yellow skin
Forever and ever an heir of the dragon*³⁵

A myth is not an entry in a dictionary but a thread in a 'spider's web' (Mauss 2006: 144). Mr Chang, born in Shanghai, was proud to be a Shanghainese and always keen to tell me more personal stories and the latest exhilarating development of China in space or military technology. Though authorities in Taiwan and China were still deemed as rebel governments by each other, Mr Chang in Taiwan disregarded the continuing tension and negotiation between the two, and saw himself as PRC Chinese openly and above board. If the thing itself possesses a soul and is of the soul (ibid 2002: 16), the necktie given to me is a present of

³⁴ The four-clawed dragon was typically for imperial nobility and certain high-ranking officials. The five-clawed dragon was the emperor's emblem, while the three-clawed dragon was used by lower ranks and the general public.

³⁵ In Chinese: 古老的東方有一條龍，她的名字就叫中國；古老的東方有一群人，他們全都是龍的傳人。巨龍腳底下我成長，長成以後是龍的傳人；黑眼睛黑頭髮黃皮膚，永永遠遠是龍的傳人。

some part of Mr Chang and the personified gift is a living creature with whom I enter into a dialogue (ibid 2002: 72).

In addition to the Chineseness gift from Mr Chang, from Mr Yang I was given portraits of Dr Sun Yat-sen (the first president and founding father of the ROC), Chiang Kai-shek (the political and military leader, Presidency in Taiwan: 1950–1975), and Chiang Ching-kuo (Chiang's son and successor, Presidency in Taiwan: 1978–1988). After the interview in July 2010, Mr Yang took me for a 15 minute walk from the venue he was interviewed and worked as a temple keeper, to his residence where his storage room was full of furniture no longer in use, paintings, calligraphy scrolls, photo frames, Chinese figurines, vases, bottles and bric-a-brac. It was like a giant casket containing the things that were unforgettable. From a treasured photo album he retrieved a few pages torn out of books. On these pages were portraits of political leaders of ROC. 'I want you to have these,' he said (Figure 17). Not until later did I realize why these politicians, many of whom were dictators, meant so much to him that he took much trouble in finding images of them and giving them to me. All I knew back then was that the thing given was not inactive but invested with life, even possessing individuality. The aforementioned paragraphs described a few experiences of my receiving gifts. More food and gifts pass to and fro in the village as if there were a constant exchange of a spiritual matter between groups, individuals, and the generations. However, the gift is at the same time what should be received, and it is dangerous to the one who does not take it. During the Chinese New Year, Mrs Jia, who had intended to maintain a closer relationship with me, presented me a red envelope (with money inside as a custom of showing care for children). In order to maintain a better-balanced relationship with each informant and to avoid involving myself into financially intricate network, I had no choice but decline it 'because the thing that is given itself forges a bilateral, irrevocable bond' (Mauss 2002: 76), which could prevent me from doing fieldwork in the village. Mrs Jia was furious with my rejection and her fury lasted many weeks. It took me a few more months to reconcile with her.

After receiving food and gifts, I did provide things in return because exchanges take place in the form of presents: 'in theory these are voluntary, but in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily' (Mauss 2002: 3). After receiving food and gifts from the elderly informants, I was obliged to give something back in order to maintain the relationship. As a research student with limited resources, from the material to the intangible, in return I provided the villagers with photos of them with their friends and houses, architectural models (1/50) of their homes, and help in daily life. In the first few months, many informants did not want to be photographed. 'I am too old to look good in photos,' they said. Thus most pictures were of houses, gardens, furniture and decoration during that period. Not until six months later did I begin to take casual photos of the informants. In September 2009, five months after moving to the village, I was welcomed to measure and document their homes. With these data, I was able to produce floor plans and make scale models of their houses for them to keep after the impending removal of the community in the name of urban renewal. At the start, some of them were hesitant. 'My home is so ugly, it is unworthy to be made into a model' (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009). As time went by, they gradually saw the value of home models and expected to have theirs after some informants proudly displayed theirs next to the TV, usually the visual centre of the living room (Figure 18). In total I developed hundreds of photos, documented 40 houses, and made 10 scale models for my informants before leaving the village in the summer of 2010 (see appendixes for details). Through these exchanges, part of our lives intertwined in narrow lanes, at home, and at heart.

2.2.4 A relational summary

In this section I work through informants' descriptions and try to bring together general experiences regarding the nature of diaspora life, with an ethnographic immersion in the world of small things and intimate relationship that fill out their lives. I also recognize that they are more than respondents answering questions, but informants in the fullest sense, in control of the information they offer (Strathern 1999: 7). Anthropology's insistence in seeing the world through perspectives of other people (Miller 2001: 15), or empathy, 'the primary ground for

the practice of anthropology,' is not far from sentimentality (Miller, 2009: 80). In the first few months, I was shocked by the naked loneliness and humbleness of their lives, but gradually I came to realise that, on the contrary, I was literally surrounded by the continuous flow of sociability that characterised Chinese diaspora existence; it can be everywhere in the village. There is openness to the ears and eyes of others behind half-shut doors and partly-closed windows; there also stands the entrance as the threshold between the night market of the outside world and the quiet households of the inside community (see Subsection 5.2.2). Through contact and exchange, a 'foreign' wandering stranger becomes a temporary family, or involves in '*Guanxi*.'

Based on her Southeast Asia study in *Guanxi* (關係), the basic dynamic in personalized networks of influence which is central to Chinese society, Ong (1998: 139) reminds us that:

Guanxi networks [...] are historically contingent, a kind of (post)colonial "habitus" - that is, the dispositions and practices that emphasize pragmatism, interpersonal dependence, bodily discipline, gender and age hierarchies, and other ethnic-specific modes of social production and reproduction in diaspora [...] Such overseas Chinese habitus has ensured that emigrant family survives for generations... .

We used to understand Chinese kinship as a static, traditional or local 'thing' which was coterminous with that of seeing China as a politically bounded culture (Brandtstädter and Santos 2008: 3). This research approaches 'China' as a conceptually shaped, evolving cultural field of relations, in which kinship is increasingly engaged in the complexities of global flows and modern state formation. Therefore it focuses on transformations of those living in *Juancun*, including me being one of them. In the process of becoming a temporary family, an understanding of material entities is gained, which depends upon a background composed of a variety of embodied skills and means of coping with cultural traditions.

Figures



Figure 16: The purple necktie with an orange Chinese dragon on the front

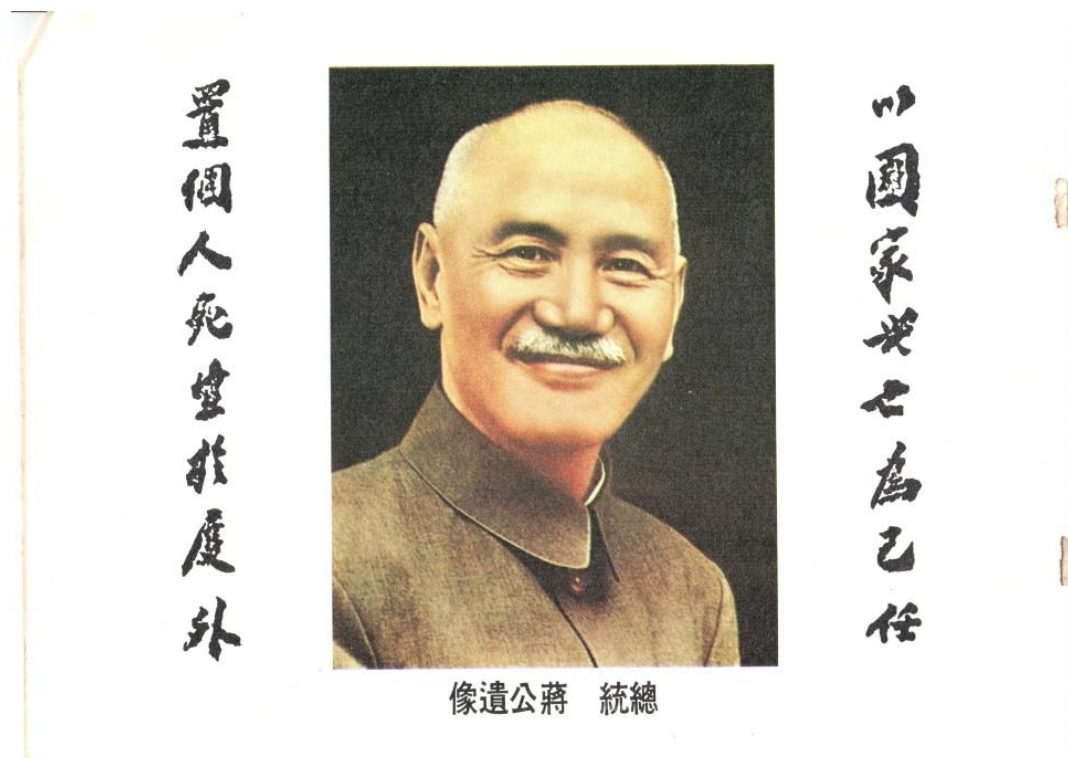


Figure 17: The gift from Mr Yang: a portrait of Chiang Kai-shek, a page torn from a book



Figure 18: Mrs Zheng holding the scale model of her house in her home

2.3 Anthropology: Understanding Differences and Relationships

2.3.1 An alien's anthropology

Anthropology, with its history of documenting the cross-cultural diversity of ideas of sociality and agency, is well placed to examine dwelling of the diaspora community as on-going processes of symbolic communication. Since people act on their individual perceptions, and those actions have real consequences, each individual's subjective reality is no less real than an objectively defined and measured reality (Fetterman 2010: 5). Subjectivity includes our sense of self, and it involves the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions (Woodward 1997: 39). In particular, emotion, affect and sensation all form a significant part of the diaspora experiences. This anthropological research based on a phenomenologically-oriented paradigm accepts multiple realities, which can be seen in many sections in this volume, particularly through informants' expressive words

and narratives in chapters 3, 4, and 5. In anthropology, meaning can be approached because it 'is grounded in the sensuous embodied relation between persons and the world, and invariant ontological ground for all feeling and all knowing taking place through persons with similar bodies' (Tilley 2004: 29).

Does this also apply to an alien, for example, a Taiwanese male with a student-ship from an English college in a Chinese diaspora community? As an alien anthropologist dwelling in the field, I experienced a voluntary form of displacement as well because an alien, or stranger, is not an individual per se, but from alien origin, 'a quality' (Simmel 1971: 148), and its alienness is not only self-referential but also contagious because the experience of the alien always affects our own experience and thus turns into a becoming-alien of experience (Waldenfels 2011: 3), both for the researcher and the researched. Therefore, it could be argued that this research about houses and things of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan by a Taiwanese anthropologist trained in an English institution is an alien's anthropology of home and at home. And the answer to the question at the beginning of this paragraph is yes because the alien's sensibility that links subjectivity, sociality and space does not romanticise, but portrays the multiple uses of the lanes and houses and makes unexpected discoveries beyond the stereotype.

In Section 2.3, the diaspora community unfolds itself as stories of social structure (or configuration of the group, such as age, gender and ethnic identity) and social relations (such as marriage, affinity and friends) among the LN villagers are told by informants.

2.3.2 Differences: age, gender and ethnic identity

First, there are generational differences in LN Village. Cultural reproduction concerns the maintenance, modification, and discarding of diasporic living practices among the generations born and raised in the post-migration era. Everyday cultural practices at home and in the village all shape the identities and behaviours of the second and succeeding generations. And the house is a prime agent of socialization because a ready-made environment fashioned by a previous generation and lived in for a long time becomes an object of thought (Carsten and

Hugh-Jones 1995: 2). The conditioning factors affecting identity and activity among younger generations which set them apart from their immigrant parents/grandparents include: meeting people from other communities in education and the workplace, forming relationships with people from other ethnic groups, growing awareness of vernacular traditions across the island of Taiwan, and increasing social mobility and immersion in Taiwanese popular and religious culture. Collective memory is therefore also generation-specific because the period of late adolescence and early adulthood is a prominent source of generational memories (Belk 1990). In this respect, children not only 'represent continuity' (in the classic formulation), but may be said to 'embody processes of growth, regeneration, and transformation' (Carsten 2000: 16). There are understandable differences between the first and the subsequent generations of *Juancun Waishengren*.³⁶

According to Mr Li (Li 2006), a second-generation and the only 'village historian,' some first-generation residents started their own families in Shanghai before retreating with military forces to Taiwan. In LN Village, about 30 per cent of the second-generation villagers were born in mainland China and then moved to Taiwan with their parents. The second generation, lacking the inherited advantages of their native peers, had to work harder to become successful. As to those who had chances to seek second life outside of Taiwan, some left to study abroad or joined a ship's crew while others married American soldiers. Since education was key to upward social mobility, first-generation villagers strove to give their children a better learning environment and hoped for the best. Due to limited social networks, most of the second generation devoted themselves to

³⁶ Second-generation *Waishengren*, or 'second-generation Mainlanders', refer to the offspring generation raised by the first-generation immigrant Mainlanders: not those who came to Taiwan as grown-ups, but those born in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s, or who came to Taiwan in their early childhood, together with their parents at the end of the Chinese civil war (1946-9), and who were raised and politically socialized in Taiwan under the Mainlander-controlled dictatorial period of government of the Republic (1948-87) (Corcuff 2011: 37).

‘military, civil and teaching careers’ (軍公教); few made managed to start their own business. ‘Like father, like son,’ many second-generation sons went into the army (Tsao 2007), primarily because it helped relieve their parents’ burden. Their tuition was waived, and monthly allowances were paid. However, second-generation villagers were still represented by all trades and professions. The second-generation *Waishengren* are now in their fifties or sixties, currently at the apex of their active lives and professional careers. In the 2000s, four former generals, a number of lieutenant colonels or colonels, doctors, teachers and public servants were sons and daughters of LN Village, which was also home to a few prominent citizens, including Ms Chong (the city councillor), Mr Fang Jr (the head of JG Borough), Mr Chang (the village head), Mr Lee (the head of the One Person One Tale Theatrical Company), Mr Hu (the head of Chi Deh Crane Engineering Co.), and others such as college tutors, military education instructors, and school teachers (Lin 2009).

Mr Li points out (Li 2006) a few facts about the second generation. First, in times of financial distress, the eldest child was expected to start work as soon as possible to share the burden of the family to give their younger siblings a better education. Daughters, particularly older siblings, used to strive for the best and were of great tenacity. Second, the second generation grew up together in the village: the elder ones looked after the younger ones, and played hard and long every day. ‘Those days were full of happiness,’ Mr Li recalls. They bonded extremely well. Therefore, children of the *juancun* may take on very different roads, but they always care about one another, share a sense of honour and justice, and patriotism. Third, the military salary was raised in 1980, and some first-generation villagers decided to retire from the army and sought second careers. Between 1986 and 1990, many of their children left home to work in the cities and start their own families. In the years following the early 2000s, third generation and their grandparents were among the main residents of LN Village while working-age second generation were away. After the mid-2000s, the third generation no longer needed daily care from their grandparents and returned to

their home outside of LN Village, leaving the first generation quiet days and nights, empty houses and rooms, and a palpable sense of desolation.

My daughter-in-law didn't want me to live with her and my son under one roof. She would rather rent a separate apartment for me. Though she made a lot of money from her business (a preparatory school), she was unfilial to me: never cooked me a meal after marrying my son. But I would sneak into their home, and then clean the house, make their bed, and wash their clothes (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

My eldest son and his wife live in a four-floor detached house (1 mile away) with plenty of rooms, but his children didn't want to live with them. Therefore after marriage my grandson bought another house in Jubei (2.5 miles away), which cost them 8 million NT dollars (approximately 160 thousand pounds) (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Mrs Pan, who was born in China, disagrees with her grandson's decision of not living with his parents, while Mrs Chen, born in Taiwan and married to a low-rank LN villager, takes the independent life of her son and daughter-in-law as disrespect. Similar feelings and complaints among others were vented during my fieldwork, but head-on collisions were seldom observed. The narratives not only give us an outline of social practices of kinship but also show us that those who were born and raised in Taiwan have different ideas about home from those of the exiled generation (and their Taiwanese spouses). Since issues of cultural reproduction naturally raise questions concerning the maintenance and modification among the subsequent generations born and raised in post-migration settings (Vertovec 2000: 15-16), the issue of generational difference requires further investigation through historical/diachronic analysis (Yang and Chang 2010: 121).

In addition to differences between generations, there are also gender differences. In the village built for air force soldiers and their dependents, the role of women, compared to that of their husbands, was more challenging, changeable and adaptable. The position of women in families and in the wider immigrant com-

munity often underwent considerable transformation, particularly when women took up post-migration employment. Domestic service was one of the gateways to a better life in LN Village. Mrs Pan described her life of raising her children and working as a maid for a professor of National Tsing Hua University, while Mrs Zheng recollected those days of hardship in the 1950s:

Before dawn back then, I had to walk to the faculty accommodation, and began daily chores from igniting coal balls, boiling water, filling the flask, doing the laundry, and sweeping the rooms. His house was so spacious that I could not clean it in one day. Before noon, I hung clothes on the airer, washed the dishes from last-night's dinner, prepared the rice and processed the food for him to cook before rushing home for making lunch for my six kids returning home from school. Around 2pm after doing the laundry at home, I went back to the professor's for more housework and dinner preparation (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

It was very difficult for us in the past. Each day I had to make both ends meet by laundering ten suits of uniforms and four bed linens of soldiers stationed nearby. Even when I was pregnant, I strived to earn more money by working as a school janitor. The time was so rough that I tried not to recall it (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

In the 1960s, women and children in the village became temporary manual workers, manufacturing small products such as Christmas lights. Together they bit the cord off, connected it to the bulb, and covered it with colourful plastic petals; when their children were asleep, they tested the circuits.³⁷ This manual work increased their income significantly and changed the landscape:

³⁷ Interviews with Mrs Bian, Mrs Pan, Mrs Fang, etc.

I used to make hairnets until 11 pm every evening and earned 600 NT dollars per month, which was 100 dollars more than my husband's army pay. The construction cost of the kitchen and the three bedrooms was paid using the money I gained from making hairnets and through 'Rotating Savings and Credit Association' (互助會) (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010).³⁸

Women had to face long-day absences of their husbands in military service, overcome difficult days without stable electricity and water supply, and feed their children with limited resources. These women calculated and saved, with a constant eye to improvements. They worked diligently to realise their dreams of a better education and home for their families. Mr Li sang the praises of the *juancun* women (Li 2006): 'Without the hardworking mothers who shared the burden of the family, supported husbands and raised kids, we couldn't make it to today'. However, the temperaments and life of women vary in different types of *juancun*: women in Air Force villages enjoying ballroom dancing, those in Army villages restraining themselves, those in Navy villages being fond of playing cards, those in military police villages mostly native Taiwanese, and the ones in intelligence agent villages living a widow-like life.

If we view gender as a negotiated, contested, and interactive process (Martinez and Ames 1997), women are highly skilled creators and producers of decorative and useful objects, and they participate in the social labour, which actively engage in the creation, safeguarding and transformation of social relations (Bounia 2012; Goggin and Tobin 2009). Women and houses are central both to the 'domestic' process of creating relatedness inside houses and the establishment and reproduction of whole communities (Carsten 2000: 18). In the intimate harmony of walls and furniture, it may be argued that a house is built by women,

³⁸ A group of individuals who agree to meet for a defined period to save and borrow together.

since men only know how to build a house from the outside (Bachelard 1994: 68). The material culture of LN Village which makes the community's gender assumptions more visible, and the women's positions and roles are further explored in chapters 3 and 4.

Finally, there are differences in ethnic identity. As discussed in 1.2.1, there are four imagined major ethnic groups in Taiwan. In 1921, 28 years before the majority of *Waishengren* moved to Taiwan, 66.8 per cent of the population of the East District were Hoklo, while 33.2 per cent were Hakka (Lo 2005). The demography of it dramatically changed after WWII. The formation of the *juancun* is entwined with the shifting of the armed forces. Residents of LN Village came from various provinces of North, Central, and South China. Most of them crossed the Taiwan Strait by sea (only a few by air). Of the 214 households in LN Village, the majority of men were from Anhui, Jiangsu and Shandong provinces where they were recruited.³⁹ They started their family in Taiwan so that over 80 per cent of households were multicultural in nature (Hoklo, Hakka and aboriginals) (Li 2006; Tsao 2007). However, in the absence of more reliable data, it is difficult to accurately state the current demographic breakdown.

Many mothers, such as Mrs Zheng, Mrs Jia, Mrs Bian, and Mrs Chou, etc., were from Yun-nan provinces (in South-West China), so was my mother (Ms Wang, interview, 30 September, 2009).

There were native Taiwanese housewives here. Quite a few soldiers whose houses were located near the head of the village married Hoklo or Hakka wives. I was bullied by my (Chinese) neighbour. She even threatened me not to touch her newly-painted wall so it would not be

³⁹ In LN Village, most male villagers are privates, captains and lieutenants. Their original family homelands are Anhui (17 per cent), Jiangsu (15 per cent), Shandong (11 per cent), Zhejiang (10 per cent), Hunan (8 per cent), Henan (8 per cent), Guangdong (7 per cent), and Yunnan (6 per cent), where they were recruited (Li 2006).

smeared. There were rumours and slanders against me which made me feel wronged in this village. My disappointing husband worsened the situation. I said to myself, 'try not to care how many neighbours look down upon me – a Taiwanese Hoklo married to a loser in juancun' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

Some mainland Chinese housewives were overbearing, always addressing me as 'Taiwanese' with a derogatory meaning, while others treated me nicely. Later on I played Cupid in introducing a friend of mine (of aboriginal Lukai and Hoklo descent) from my hometown Pingtung (South-East Taiwan), now my sister-in-law, to my husband's brother. We became good company in juancun (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009).

There was a time when harsh tension existed between housewives of different ethnic identities, but the ethnic diversity inside and outside the village continued to increase through time and international mobility. As the first generation grew older and physically weaker, care/nursing workers became the latest newcomers to the community.

The migrant nursing worker has been hired to take care of Mr Guo for two months. I teach her how to cook. She is a quick learner and a good cook now. She is an experienced care worker, who once worked in Hong Kong (Mrs Guo, interview, 14 July, 2010).

After decades of settling down here, the villagers originally from across the vastness of China gradually took roots in Taiwan, and saw this land as their homeland (Li 2006: 37). The 'homeland', however, is not of any general or traditional definition, but of a reinvented, new kind of significance that is problematic to this research and is explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.3.3 Relationships: marriage, affinity and network

Taking roots involves people's ability to form relationships, and the nature of these relationships flow constantly between persons and things. For instance, the small acts of hospitality and sharing of living space create kinship that did not previously exist (Carsten 1997). Diasporic forms of relationships, in particular, are comprehensibly processual in the making and challenge the more static constructs. In this subsection, relationships between persons, such as marriage, children, extended families, 'sisterhood' and even surrogates are outlined, and they form the basis for understanding the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan in subsequent chapters.

First, consider marriage, children and extended family in the diaspora community. According to Yang and Chang (2010: 120), the ratio of women to men in the 1950s was approximately 3:1 among the Chinese diaspora population in Taiwan (military personnel included),⁴⁰ and more than 50 per cent of the male *Waishengren* married native Taiwanese women, resulting in over half of the second-generation *Waishengren* having native Taiwanese mothers.⁴¹ Those at the bottom of the social power hierarchy, many of whom were unmarried mainland Chinese foot soldiers, had to marry poor Taiwanese and mountain Aborigine women who were alienated from mainstream society; intermarriage increased with time since many second- and third-generation *Waishengren*, especially those who had learned to speak Taiwanese, married Taiwanese people (Brown 2004: 237; Yang and Chang 2010: 116). Stories of married life are told below by

⁴⁰ It is estimated that there were around 270,000 of the lowest military personnel (Li 1970: 66-67).

⁴¹ More recent surveys show that 88 per cent (7/8) of *Waishengren* married outside their own ethnic group (Wang 1993: 237).

Mrs Tsai and Mrs Qian, both of Taiwanese Hakka origin, and Mrs Zheng and Mrs Pan who came to Taiwan from China with their husbands.⁴²

I married my husband at the age of 18 in 1954. He was handsome and tall. We started our family with a humble condition of life: two pairs of trousers, two sets of clothes, two pillows, a worn-out table with two bowls and two dishes, two chairs, and a mosquito net. This was how my married life began. Initially, I didn't know how to cook, so my husband cooked meals for me. He taught me Mandarin bit by bit via showing me how to buy eggs, to make dough and leaven it, and to prepare food: 'This is a rolling pin; that is a dumpling.' But he wouldn't teach me how to read (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009).

In the 1970s, I met Mrs Bian in the Christmas bulb factory where I had been working since 1967 in Hsinchu. After knowing the sad fact that my ex-husband abandoned me and my three kids, she played Cupid in introducing me to her neighbour, the widower Mr Qian with two sons. Within two years, Mr Qian and I got to know each other better and better; my children and I moved to Mr Qian's house in LN Village after my second marriage in 1981. After Mr Qian's death, his two sons decided to call me 'godmother' (乾媽) [ganma]. I invite his two sons and my own three children to my place for a family reunion during Chinese New Year's Eve, Lantern Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, and Mid-autumn Festival every year! I see them all as my posteriority (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).

Mr Zheng was born in 1921, in Zhejiang, east China. When he proposed in Yunnan Province, South-East China, where his troop was

⁴² Most of the first-generation male *Waishengren* in LN Village died before my fieldwork started in 2009 because they were much older than the women interviewed.

stationed during the civil war, I told him I would say yes only under the following conditions: a) approval from my parents, b) two rings, one gold bracelet, one watch, one necklace, six pieces of cloth for cheongsam (a close-fitting dress with a high neck and a slit skirt, traditionally worn by Chinese women) and a short overcoat. He replied that he would give me every item except the gold bracelet and the necklace, which he borrowed from his friends for me to wear on my wedding day (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

After my father's death, I was a teenager and entrusted to my granduncle. However, I feared that my granduncle might betroth me to someone I didn't even know. So I decided to marry Mr Pan, who tried to woo me during that time; he was a colleague of my elementary school classmate's husband (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Though the intimate relationship of each case in hardship is teeming with difficulty, fear, sincerity, suspicion and contingency, some *juancun* women highly value marriage. 'Even during those days of bitterness, the idea of divorce never comes up in my mind,' said Mrs Zheng (interview, 17 December, 2009). Nuclear families are more visible in this research. Blended and extended families, including people both inside and outside the village are not uncommon,⁴³ but are less represented here due to limited contact. However, the detailed accounts of children and extended family members that follow will complement the stories of marriages and the multivalence of the diaspora relationship.

After conducting a few interviews it became apparent that, in LN Village, a woman's life was marked and chronicled by her experience of motherhood.

⁴³ For example, Mr Lin is not a member of the Air Force Engineering Wing but he lives with the widowed Mrs Jiang, whose husband died following an accident; they cohabit without legally marrying (Mrs Qian, personal conversation, 21 January, 2010). An extreme case, which ended in a broken family, was that of the retired first-generation villager incestuously cohabiting with his daughter-in-law while his son was away from home in army service.

Places and time were therefore remembered through the experiences of having and raising children. For some villagers, localisation in the spaces of intimacy was more significant than determination of dates. A few typical cases are listed below:

I have six kids. My first daughter was born in 1947, my first son in 1951, the second son in 1954, the second daughter in 1956, the third son in 1958, and the third daughter in 1960. After marriage in 1946, we travelled across provinces from Yunnan, to Guizhou, Hunan, Hubei, Shaanxi, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang. Finally we came to Taiwan in 1949. Apart from the first child, who was born in China, the rest of our five children were born in LN Village in Hsinchu, Taiwan (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

I gave birth to seven children and raised eight. The eighth is my younger brother who came to Taiwan with me. My mother passed away when he was just three years old. I only remember details and birthdays of my first two kids: the eldest son was born on 1 January, 1948, in a civilian house near the Air Force Academy in Hangzhou, China, while the eldest daughter was born on 12th December, 1949, in a tent near Songshan Airport in Taipei, Taiwan. Six out of seven children were born at home rather than in the hospital. Finally I decided to give birth to the seventh child in the hospital in order to have myself sterilised (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

In LN Village, differences of marriage between generations are understandable and obvious. From the narratives of Mrs Fang, Mrs Zheng, and Mrs Pan listed below, some new marriage patterns of the second generation which surmount obstacles of ethnicity and geography emerge:

I have three sons and two daughters: the first son born in Nanjing, China, the second son in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, the third son and two daughters in Hsinchu, Taiwan. My first daughter-in-law is a Taiwan-born Shandonese (whose parents are from Shandong Province, China),

second daughter-in-law a Taiwanese from Chiayi, South Taiwan, and third daughter-in-law a Taiwanese from Kaohsiung, South Taiwan (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010).

My first daughter met her husband at work in Taipei. My second daughter-in-law and neighbouring Mr and Mrs Han's daughter-in-law are sisters from Yunlin, South Taiwan: my husband bumped into her when she visited her sister in the Han's house. He then introduced my second son to her. They soon clicked with each other. My third daughter-in-law and Mrs Wang's daughter are friends. Mrs Wang introduced her to my third son when she visited her friend and my son fell in love with her right away. All of my three sons-in-law and three daughters-in-law are Taiwanese Hoklo. We feel a real affinity to the Taiwanese (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

After a ten-year service my younger brother retired from the army, and married Mrs Jia's daughter. Before long two boys were born, and they decided to emigrate to Texas, USA. He started working as a dishwasher in a Chinese diner and later a chef. Now he owns a Chinese restaurant (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Many middle-aged second-generation residents moved out of the village, some of them even emigrating to other countries. Mrs Tsai's first daughter and her husband moved to San Diego, California; both Mrs Chen and Mrs Guo's daughters married Japanese men and moved to Tokyo. 'I didn't want her to live so far from us, but as her mom I still attended her wedding to show family support.' Mrs Chen described the terrifying experience of flying to Tokyo alone (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). Not all of them have happy endings; there are sad-denying stories though. Mrs Guo's daughter died young in Japan, leaving a teenage son who could speak Japanese but not Mandarin, his mother tongue. Mrs Lu was the primary caretaker for her grandchildren because her daughter and son-in-law were imprisoned due to drug abuse. When diaspora villagers

faced the challenges of life, neighbours and surrogates were their essential support.

After delineating inner circle relationships to spouses, children and extended family, consider seemingly outer circle relationship of 'sisterhood' and that to kinship surrogates. Neighbours and friends are important in LN Village. Forced to leave their homes and family as teens, many *Juancun Waishengren*, or the Chinese diaspora in dependents' villages, formed close relationships with their neighbours after half a century of local dwelling. 'I was born in 1927. Mrs Bian and I are the same age. We've been in good company since coming to Taiwan from mainland China,' said Mrs Fang (interview, 23 April, 2010). Mrs Lee and Mrs Pan took the same ship to Kaohsiung, Taiwan, and their friendship lasted for over 60 years (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). They shared an intimate life of limited resources, sometimes even living space (see Subsection 4.1.7). Mrs Zheng and Mrs Pan were willing to switch their allotted houses so that Mrs Zhen could build an extension to the end terrace for her large family with six children (Mrs Zheng, personal communication, 29 September, 2009). 'My father sold the small house next door to his fellow townsman at a low price,' Ms Wang complained about her father being a yes man to neighbours and friends but family (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009).

In the 1950s, many women were pregnant and lived in the same village; they had their babies at approximately the same age, and later congregated with their toddlers in the neighbourhood. In the late 1980s, these mothers became grandmothers, and some of them gathered again for the same reason, caring for the third generation. 'Mrs Jiang and I became close friends during the time we were raising grandchildren respectively. We first met in the local market while we did grocery shopping with toddler grandchildren. Our grandchildren enjoyed playing together back then, but we no longer hung out after our grandchildren went to the elementary school' (Mrs Qian, personal conversation, 21 January, 2010).

Here in LN Village, 'residents are always members of a big family full of human warmth, who share almost everything and care for one another; they are helpful to those who are sick, bereaved, or giving birth' (李存治 2006: 37). Some of them know their neighbours' everyday schedule very well. 'Mrs Bian goes to bed at 8 pm, Mrs Chou at 7.30 pm. They both get up very early' (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009). Female villagers constantly mentioned 'sisterhood' during interviews. 'I helped Mrs Han's unemployed son to get a job in the Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park where I used to work as a cleaning lady. I lied to them that he is the son of my younger sister' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). Mrs Tsai's sentimental talk also confirmed the 'sisterhood' between women. 'After the village was established, it has been a place like home for all. We, the civilian women, who came here through marriage, became bosom friends like sisters' (interview, 30 September, 2009).

Though it seemed that men in LN Village did not form visible male bonding among themselves as much as their female counterparts, many of them, from disfranchised veterans living in abject poverty to the head of the village, developed an emotional and ritualistic attachment to iconic symbols of the KMT (Nationalist Party), Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in particular, which is manifested below.

Mrs Chou explained to me that, together with Bodhisattva Guanyin (an East Asian goddess of mercy), photos of former President Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo (also a former president) have been enshrined and worshipped since the day it was brought back home by Mr Chou (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). Mr Yang, who had so carefully displayed the portrait of his father next to that of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, gave me portraits of former political leaders (Dr Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and Chiang Ching-kuo) as thank-you gifts for my listening to and caring for him (Figure 19). Similarly, Mr Chang, the head of the village, put his own picture and the image of Chiang in one photo frame. He once excitedly showed me the bust of Chiang Kai-shek and then gently touched the forehead of it while telling me stories of his family during an interview (cf. Subsection 4.2.2). In these cases, two pent-up veterans com-

municated by means of the same symbol: since their teens they had served as loyal soldiers under Chiang's command, who led them out of communist China after losing the civil war and promised to recover lost territory. They were also recipients of military pay and provisions which supported their family in an island initially foreign to them. There were times that Chiang (and his Nationalist Party, KMT) provided indispensable support that they could not live without.

Photos or icons of Chiang Kai-shek (sometimes with his wife Soong May-ling, known as Madame Chiang) are exhilarating and comforting, and possessors regularly caress and look at them, sometimes for a long time. Mere contact with these representations of the deceased military and political leader brings consolation. The objects with which we surround ourselves in the home are particularly salient expressions of self: the more we are able to touch those objects, the more we gain reassurance of their reality, a reassurance and a level of relating not gained from sight alone (Marcus 2006: 61). In light of Marilyn Strathern's inspirational thought of borrowing persons (2011: 36), these veterans were once-young soldiers and recruits found by the wars of modernity, and their parents were displaced by the superiors, particularly Generalissimo Chiang and his wife. These male teens were loaned from their families, to guard their home and to defend their country. For the diaspora community created by war, their own land now unavailable to them, there are limited options of where to live, not only for a period of time, but likely for good. Their origins are elsewhere, in other words 'their (kinship) origins are in other people' (Strathern 2011: 36), but their neighbourhood, and relationship between officers and soldiers are here and real. Therefore, in this sense neighbours and superiors are not only kinship surrogates, but members of the kinship.

2.3.4 An analytical summary

In the above subsections, by inquiring how differences and relationships are intertwined in the diaspora community, I show how anthropology provides a useful lens for viewing the world and bridges the gap between analytical thinking and fieldwork data. Bearing this in mind, in the following chapters I attempt to extract

information from the group under study to construct a skeletal structure and fleshy functions within, and aim to gain an essential understanding of the underlying system, within which we are provided with a foundation and frame to 'construct an ethnographic description' (Fetterman 2010: 27). In this section, the investigative framework based on age, gender, and ethnic identity provides various ways to understand the nuances of *Juancun Waishengren* and their local network (via marriage, affinity and beyond). Since anthropology is the discipline which tries to engage with the minutiae of everyday life while retaining a commitment to understanding humanity as a whole (Miller, 2009: 6), I see underclass war migrants and their descendants more as subjects making all-out attempt to survive in Taiwan and beyond, far from a privileged ruling minority laden with complex relationships between the KMT party-state and the migrant community. More supportive narratives and materials are revealed in chapters 3, 4, and 5. In the next section I illustrate how the study of space and material culture may widen and provide insight for the anthropology of diaspora and home.

Figures



Figure 19: In Mr Yang's home, the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek (left) is arranged next to that of his father (right)



Figure 20: On Mr Chang's desk, various forms of Chiang Kai-shek forms are presented beside the photo of Mr Chang wearing medals on a formal suit (right)

2.4 Material Culture: Considering Land and Home

2.4.1 Perspective on things

To understand what people are and what they might become, we must understand what goes on between people and things (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 1). In Subsections 1.2.4 and 1.3.2, acts of land appropriation, house building, and homemaking, are processual rather than static in their form in *juancun*, and they manifest that property relations are not only social relations between people but also found within wider processes of interaction 'between people and the physical environments that they inhabit' (Strang and Busse 2011: 4). Within the physical environments, artefacts, places and landscapes may become parts of bodies, and houses may be metaphorically conceived as bodies engendering social relationships in space-time (Hoskins 1998; Tilley 1999, 2004). Moreover, things may also be regarded as texts, structured sign systems whose relationships with each other and the social world is to be decided (Tilley 2002a: 23). In order to understand how people of a diaspora make and live in the world related both to their bodily experience and personal, social and cultural backgrounds, topics such as land, things, home, and material culture

of the *juancun* are briefly reviewed to pave the way for further discussions in the following chapters.

2.4.2 Land and conflict

People's experience of the land is based on their everyday attentiveness to the tasks in hand, the routines, their relations to each other, and to the world around them, but that engagement is also shaped by the particularity of the historical moment (Bender 2002: 142). In Taiwan, the land of the *juancun* (military dependents' villages), were mostly government-owned or held by poorly registered parties. In the earlier decades of the establishment of the village (from the 1950s to the 1980s), the small terraced houses allotted to most officers and soldiers were reconstructed and expanded on squatted land, to accommodate households with growing number of family members (For more details and cases, see Subsection 1.2.4 and Chapter 4).

When we first arrived here, there were only three buildings in the neighbourhood: 'the Big Building' (大房子 [Da Fang Zi]) whose south corner our home sits in, the former office building of the Japanese Fuel Plant where Mrs Bian lives, and the tile-roofed house opposite to Mrs Bian's. No civilians lived around this area (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). Upon arrival in the village, we stayed in the northern area. We once occupied a corner in the Big Building too. We squatted wherever was empty by fencing a piece of land with bamboo (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). When there was not enough space for living, we added annexes on empty land near our houses allotted by the government (Mrs Chou, interview, 10 December, 2009).

One of the foundations for the relationship diaspora villagers feel between land and home lies in the idea that land owned by the government is for the public, including military servicemen and their dependents, as opposed to civilian or private ownership.

I remember when I was a child my friends and I often played around the sugarcane field by the north-east side of the village. We kids used to steal some raw sticks from stacks of sugarcane on the bullock cart on its way to the market. We deemed that the land was owned by the government, not by civilians, therefore, sugarcane belonged to the state and we have certain rights to take it (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009).

Even children are able to build, maintain, and modify places where they play, while the question of 'property rights' often surfaces. Rules and boundaries become important, as the settings they make express who they are. These poignant memories of occupying corners in the village and exploiting resources from land (both on site and nearby) reveal a 'recognition of the human need to claim space by changing the environment' (Marcus 2006: 26-27). In the case of sugarcane, the second-generation Mr Yen and his playmates felt in the right and self-confident while taking some crops from surrounding public land and never returned them. Like the 'Xavier borrowing' as described in Xavier High School on Chuuk, Micronesia in the 1970s, this kind of borrowing (or taking) seems to transfer nominal possession, but not ownership (Strathern 2011: 28). However, the boundary of the government's ownership of land is blurred after the LN villagers have been dwelling on it for more than a half century. Therefore, many LN villagers believe that they retain the right to the land and compensation is expected if their community has to be relocated elsewhere.

By the 1980s, many of these Chinese enclaves had evolved into fully-fledged communities of thousands of inhabitants, middle classes included, within a developing urban context. However, the land conflict was on the verge of breaking out between its owner and users. In 1996 the government passed the Statute Governing Reconstruction of Old Military Dependents' Villages (國軍老舊眷村改建條例 [*guojun laojiu juancun gajian tiaoli*]), which budgeted money to demolish the villages and replace them with modern, high-rise housing. Most villages were to be razed by 2009 (Ross 2006). Faced with the impending relocation order

issued by the government, the LN villagers' complaints confirmed their feelings of gradual ownership of the land through building homes on it.

We spent a lot of money in building annexes to the house allotted by the government. The state should compensate us for our loss after relocation (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Our land where the village stands is worth 20 billion NT dollars, while the cost of the new council housing is merely one tenth of it. In the government's relocation plan, our efforts of building homes here in the village are ignored. If we spent 0.6 million NT dollars on a building on private land rather than on the house on government-owned land here, we could have had complete ownership of both land and house. No matter how much time and money we invest in properties in the village, it is invalid (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

It is not reasonable to ask us to pay for the new council housing built on state-owned land. We didn't pay for our current dwelling houses built on state-owned land in the beginning. Why should we pay for those new ones built on another state-owned land? (Mr Yang, interview, 20 July, 2010).

Ownership, 'a set of processes through which people assert and contest rights,' is a culturally and historically specific system of symbolic communication, and through it people negotiate social and political relations (Strang and Busse 2011: 4-9). According to many LN villagers' logic, the nationalist government led them out of China, found them land to build a military dependents' quarter, and paid for building maintenance and repair, so the land and properties on it were state-owned. When the government in exile realised that there was a slim chance of reclaiming mainland China after signing the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty (中美防禦條約) [zhong mei fang yu tiao yue], which discouraged the ROC from initiating any military action against mainland China, the village was no longer maintained by the state and was put to the villagers' disposal, which unintentionally encouraged the idea of privatisation. People living on this land of

ownership conflict have more stories about things to tell: they not only use, but also make things.

2.4.3 Things and houses

To be human is to make and use things because people think through metaphors and objectify these thoughts in material forms (Tilley 2002a: 24). Humans are not only *Homo sapiens*, but also *Homo faber*, the makers and users of objects (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 1). Since the lives of persons and objects are mutually constituted in a phenomenological sense through use of metaphor and through perception, a person is made through social interaction and by taking on the meanings of things (Parkin 1999: 314). There is new emphasis on polysemy, biographical, historical and cultural shifts in meaning, the active role or 'agency' of things in constituting (Tilley 2002a: 23). It may be argued that people are also made and used by things. If we take 'things' encountered in the field as they present themselves, rather than assuming that they signify, represent, or stand for something else, things might be treated as *sui generis* meanings, which are not 'carried' by things but are just identical to them; our experience of things therefore can be conceptual (Henare et al. 2007).

Our experience of things is also sensuous and 'it is not possible to divorce material culture studies from the study of the body, and vice versa' (Warnier 2001: 10). We are constantly doing things with and to things: finding, losing, appropriating, sorting, keeping, storing, and discarding them. 'What we do with things is always simultaneously a social activity, a way of making and reconstituting key socialities, identities and subjectivities' (Gregson 2007: 28, 164), as we will see many cases of LN Village in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. However, not all things are equal. Some things are more closely related to people than others, and our home contains the most special objects that are selected by the inhabitant to attend to regularly. These household objects create permanence in the intimate life of persons, and therefore are involved in making up their identities (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 17). These things in the home become obvious and sometimes too vivid to face up to especially when the LN villagers

prepare to move out of the house. Sorting things out is to engage oneself in an excavation of the memory, while disposing of things before moving is, in particular, not an easy task, which may amount to sacrificing a part of oneself (Marcoux 2001: 77-8). And hoarding things up in the home objectify a network of changing social relationships that constitute the family and the individuals within; material objects are therefore expressive relationships of social dynamics, which are used to mediate problems of everyday inter-family relations (Daniels 2001). Material culture is therefore at the core of this research.

In addition to the things in domestic space discussed above, the home itself, both physical and cultural, is a microcosm which calls for more attention. The experience of space is an essential part of living and imagining of everyday life in the *juancun*, and the home is the single most important site for this diaspora research. Home, as a form of architecture, is built, used and expressed in the sensory activities of daily life, may be considered as a means of thinking through social life and accordingly becoming an important metaphor conceiving of oneself in the world, which embodies 'deep structures' organising human societies, or in brief, as the literal embodiment of habitus (Bourdieu 1979; Buchli 2006). Unlike the Soviet social reformers who intentionally took the sphere of daily life, home particularly, as the arena in which the fundamental restructuring of society was thought through and materialised (Buchli 2002: 210), the LN villagers faced with the predicament of identity might unwittingly embarked on their own journey of making the house as 'an instrument in resolving moral and other dilemmas' (Miller 2001: 3-5).

Since a place to live is created by people and functions as a framework for their lives, the house and the inhabitants are mutually constituted (Gullestad 1993). To study things and houses of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan is not to understand the reflection of them but themselves. The childhood recollection of a second-generation diaspora Chinese who once lived in it gives us a general idea of what a *juancun* would look like:

The Lee family live next to us [...] Their potted plants line up in front of their forecourt and ours, creating a green as a whole. This typifies the relationship between neighbours in the juancun, which embodies the blurred, the spatial and cognitive boundary between homes [...]. When I was young, no home was locked in this lane and neighbours were free to visit one another and chatted. Those grownups who spoke in different dialects were main figures in my childhood (Liao 2006: 16-7).

Houses often involve telling a life story (Gullestad 1993: 80). The individual's life cycle and the family's development cycle are closely connected to forming and reforming a house. Therefore, *juancun*, which was established under the assistance of state power of the ROC since its exile in Taiwan and renovated by its inhabitants, generated new forms of kinship, individuation, social structure and public-private interfaces both within itself and between the Chinese diaspora and the majority of Taiwanese in the host society. These new forms were conceived within and lived through the houses in *juancun*. These houses as home can be seen as 'a shared cultural symbol' and 'an instrument in the creation and maintenance of cultural class differences' (Gullestad 1993: 90). They are not just buildings where people dwell, but 'vibrant living metaphors of social life' (Buchli 2002: 209). Houses, a built form, and things, the objects within, are both crucial in their inhabitants' social life, which are particularly manifested in *juancun*.

Gullestad (1993) has argued that in the Norwegian context, the home is an important setting for family life and social life because it is where people create and express their specific ideas of identity and intimacy: values and identities are created and objectified in home decoration, which is thus a part of the construction and reconstruction of social groups. While the Norwegian home can 'be seen as a form of resistance to fragmentation and anomie, and as in most forms of resistance it also embodies that which is resisted' (Gullestad 1993: 83), home of *juancun*, where diasporic cultures survive, can be seen as a form of coexistence in an identity-troubled society, and therefore be regarded as one of the most important sites for researching contested identity and material culture in Taiwan.

2.4.4 An expository summary

In Section 2.4, I briefly review some discussions about land, stuff and space, and with this in mind I will illustrate in the following chapters how material culture of home and its attendant things are central to the practices that make the Chinese diaspora able to 'reconfigure their relationships and indeed themselves,' with the changes that take place in their lives (Miller 2001: 9). Particularly in Chapter 4, 5 and 6, through studying houses and things in LN Village we will see how individuals as well as family units 'continuously reinvent themselves in relation to different social contexts' (Daniels 2001: 225). Since not feeling at home in the world, or in a perpetual state of unease, is at the same time the modern condition and its hope of social renewal (Buchli 2002: 211), through researching material culture of *juancun*, Taiwan's Military Dependents' Villages, we stand on a vantage point of making sense of the state of home from home, and the process of re-inventing lost homelands.

2.5 Preparing the Way

Any research concerning the nature of social life in a transforming community must be based on not only the abstract concepts but also the ways in which people live. This chapter makes several attempts at doing so. First, section 2.1 describes the objects of consciousness in the manner in which they are presented to consciousness, and it reveals the world as it is actually experienced directly by an ethnographer, 'a subject destined to the world' (Merleau-Ponty 1962: xi). Since consciousness is always consciousness-of-something, and the intentionality provides the basis for the relationship between people and their world (Thomas 2006: 44), the description of LN Village may lead to 'fresh insights and new knowledges of what there is in the world' and 'how it impacts on human consciousness' (Tilley 2004: 1). Second, the stories of human encounters, and experiences of things, come to be in the foreground as 'our everyday understanding is of totalities, contexts, projects and relationships, rather than of isolated objects' (Thomas 2006: 43-57). Third, through informants' own accounts there emerge the indigenous concepts of sociality, and therefore the differences

and relationships of collective living can be understood. Finally, in consideration of land, home and material culture, a different analytical framework of the Chinese diaspora is proposed. As this volume aims to reveal the diverse and subtle means by which the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan engage and, in so doing, change and are changed, the task of Chapter 2 is not only in an unconventional way to explain and reflect on the methodology of the research, but also to prepare for the idea, confirmed in the following chapters, that the experience of the alien brings about a change, maybe even a catharsis (Waldenfels 2011: 3).

Chapter 3 Grafting a Family Tree in *Chituqi*

The increasing interconnectedness of social, economic and cultural systems, as well as of individuals and places, has had far-reaching consequences on the relation between people and space in the contemporary era. This has led scholars to reassess notions of territoriality and sense of belonging (Audebert and Doraï 2010: 9).

Place is not simply an outcome of social processes, it is a tool in the creation, maintenance and transformation of relations of domination and oppression (Cresswell 2004: 29). In order to obtain a better understanding of the Chinese Diaspora in Taiwan through its material culture, this chapter contextualises the observations in the place, LN Village in *Chituqi* of Hsinchu City, and charts its relationship between geography, history, demography, economy and personal memory, with a particular emphasis on these subjects' practices of everyday life. Life of the LN villagers abruptly started in *Chituqi* after World War II, and from here family trees have been grafted and grown. Terrains (landscape, topography, and scenery) around LN Village are recognized in Section 3.1, and its multilayer territories and borders are illustrated in Section 3.2. Biographies of LN villagers and recent development of the community are told and described in Section 3.3.

3.1 Terrains around LN Village

Place is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world of meaning and experience because we see attachments and connections between people and place (Cresswell 2004: 11). Thus in this section, past and present circumstances of LN Village are seen through prisms of topography, governance (of changing regimes), and human activity (of migrant waves). Section 3.1 aims to provide background knowledge of both the village itself and where it is situated, the area of *Chituqi*.

3.1.1 From military district to *Qingda* living perimeter

LN Village lies within the area toponymed *Chituqi* (赤土崎, literally meaning 'red rugged slope'), which is approximately 1-kilometre in radius with *Chituqi* Park at its centre.⁴⁴ It is roughly demarcated by G 5th Road, GF Road, JG 2nd Road, and Zhongxiao Road (Figure 21). *Chituqi* is geomorphologically low-lying in the west and north, with an average altitude below 100 metres; it is topographically characterized by alluvial plain and hills (Graduate Institute of Urban Planning, National Chung Hsing University 1997). The site of LN Village was within the boundary of the former Imperial Japanese Naval Sixth Fuel Plant, Hsinchu Branch (日本海軍第六燃料廠新竹支廠) [riben haijun diliu ranliao chang xinzhu zhichang], of which only a smokestack and several buildings remain.⁴⁵ Under Japanese rule before 1945, there were few civilian residences around except for a few rude bamboo cabins along a 10-metre wide cobbled stone road which later turned into current main 30-metre wide street, GF Road (Fang 2000b). In the

⁴⁴ *Chituqi* is home to LN Village and a number of establishments: educational institutions such as National Tsing Hua University (清華大學), National Chiao Tung University (交通大學), Hsinchu Chienkung Senior High School (建功高中), Guangfu High School (光復中學), Jian Gong Elementary School (建功國小), residential buildings such as GN Village (公學新村), MZ Public Housing (孟竹國宅), RD Public Housing (仁德國宅), GF Public Housing (光復國宅), WJ Public Housing (文教新城), JN Village (金城新村), RF Public Housing (仁風國宅), military-related organizations such as Hsinchu Military Police Brigade (新竹憲兵隊), Veterans Affairs Commission Hsinchu Branch (新竹市榮民輔導會), General Welfare Service Ministry, Guang Fu Branch (國軍福利總處新竹市光復福利站), business areas such as NOVA Computer Products Mall (NOVA 商圈), Empire New Image Building (帝國新象大廈), *Qingda* Night Market (清大夜市), Hsinchu Shui Yuan Market (水源市場), urban facilities and services such as Chunghwa Telecom Jian Hsin Branch (電信局建新中心), Taiwan Water Corporation, Third Branch (自來水管理處), CPC Underground Oil Depot (臺灣中油地下油庫), CPC Guang Fu Petrol Station (臺灣中油光復加油站), *Chituqi* Car Park (赤土崎停車場), Industrial Technology Research Institute of Taiwan, Mackay Memorial Hospital Hsinchu Branch (馬偕醫院), Guang Fu Compound (工研院光復院區), and recreational area such as 18 Peaks Mountain (十八尖山).

⁴⁵ Construction of the plant began in 1944 and was completed in 1945, manufacturing 2,2,4-Trimethylpentane for aircraft fuel from natural gas and butyl alcohol. After World War II, the Imperial Japanese Naval Sixth Fuel Plant, Japan Petroleum, Imperial Petroleum, Taitaku Chemical Industry, and Taiwan Natural Gas Research Institute, merged into the China Petroleum Co. (now CPC, Taiwan) (Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage Council for Cultural Affairs 2010, Ito 1996).

time of Japanese Rule (1895-1945), GF Road was a narrow road set between a timber yard near Hsinchu Railway station and Zhudong Township (竹東鎮), one of the top three forestry farms in Taiwan. Along the road there a track for man-powered bogie flat wagons which transported logs and exported them to Japan. Many Hakkas eked out the barest of living by powering these wagons (Lin 2009).⁴⁶

After the Nationalists fled from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, legions of the army, the navy, the air force, the Logistics and the military police were quartered in *Chituqi*.⁴⁷ The troops and their families soon found shelter in the Japanese factory buildings left standing. Some of them were later allotted single-story housing units (in *juancun*) to live in, while others built humble huts for themselves along the fringes of *juancun*.⁴⁸ As the number of family members grew through second-generation births, the need for larger accommodation became manifest. Before long villagers expanded houses by building into their front and back yards, resulting in narrower lanes (some only 80 cm wide) between the

⁴⁶ Guangfu Road was not asphalted until 1956-1957. At that time, the only bus stop near LN Village then was '*Chituqi*' (赤土崎招呼站), now renamed to 'Tsing Hua University' (清華大學站); it was run by Hsinchu Transportation Co. with a regular but much less-frequent schedule. People used to take rickshaws to downtown Hsinchu to Hsinchu Railway Station, hospitals, or cinemas, most of whom were *Waishengren* (Li 2006).

⁴⁷ For example, the site of the present National Chiao Tung University's Guangfu Campus was a former cantonment of Army Division 206 (陸軍 206 師); Kuangfu High School was a former naval GN Village (海軍眷村光明新村); JN Village (金城新村) has long been home to high ranking officers of the army (Lin 2009).

⁴⁸ The Nationalist Government (國民政府) initially viewed Taiwan as an anti-Communist provisional bastion using a lot of propaganda: 'one year to arm, two years to counterattack, three years to wipe out Communists, and five years to retake mainland China (一年準備、兩年反攻、三年掃蕩、五年成功) [yinian zhunbei, liangnian fangong, sannian saodang, wunian chenggong]', hence its policy for servicemen and their families was to ask them make do with whatever was available (Fang 2000a).

units. Since then *Chituqi* has become a quarter of *Waishengren*, and LN Village is now one of the largest *juancun* in *Chituqi* (Fang 2000a; Lin 2009).⁴⁹

Before National Tsing Hua University (國立清華大學, hereafter NTHU, also shortened to *Qingda*: 清大) reinstalled its campus in *Chituqi* in 1956, it had been a woodland of *Formosa acacia* (相思林) [xiangsi lin] on the hillside, where army soldiers underwent field operation training and target practice. Village children used to idle around that place; they collected ammunition shells and then sold them for a cent or two with much content (Fang 2000b). Following the foundation of *Qingda* (NTHU), businesses were first formed along JG 1st Road and run by the *Waishengren* who settled here. In recent years, shops rented from the *Waishengren* have been operated mostly by people from other places in Taiwan (Lin 2009). Eateries and street food vendors along JG 1st Road are now generally termed as *Qingda* Night Market.⁵⁰ Within 60 years, *Chituqi* has been transformed from a military industrial district, left by the Japanese and quartered by the *Waishengren*, into a living perimeter with many businesses operated by both mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese.

⁴⁹ The *Waishengren* is used to refer to mainland Chinese or Chinese mainlanders, who came to Taiwan from mainland China after WWII. It is used as opposed to other ethnic groups in Taiwan, such as the aboriginal people, the Hoklo people and the Hakka people.

⁵⁰ Prices of food items are mostly between 30 and 50 NT dollars, which fit college students' budgets. The entrance of the night market at the intersection of Guangfu Road and JG Road was marked by a McDonalds in the 1980s, later replaced by a 7-Eleven convenience store and then a Watson's health and beauty retail store in 2011. Across the street was a mini mart in the 1990s, which has been replaced a Starbucks since the 2000s (Lin 2009).

Figures

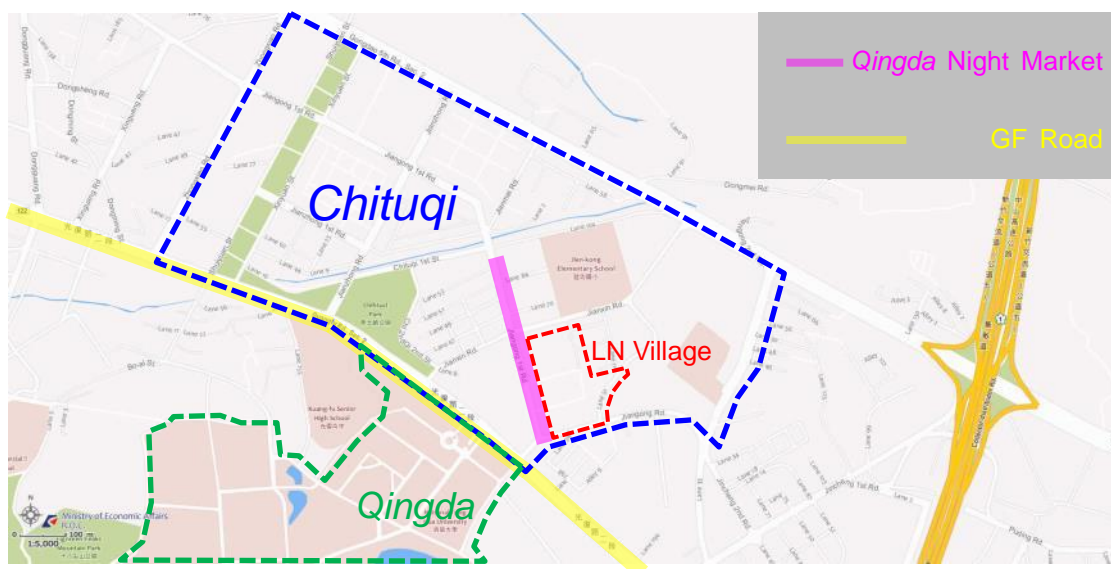


Figure 21: Map showing LN Village in the *Chituqi* area and the neighbouring *Qingda* (NTHU)

3.1.2 Historical and geographical landscape

Under Japanese rule, six brick buildings with black tiles, two smelting furnaces (each with a smokestack), and three oil depots were established in the Imperial Japanese Naval Sixth Fuel Plant, Hsinchu Branch, between 1944 and 1945 (Figure 23).⁵¹ Several dugouts, pillboxes, tunnels and defence works, together with a pond and a section of track for flat wagons, were once scattered around the village. The desolate hillside was then overgrown with weeds, and could be accessed only by a few cobbled roads, such as JG 1st Road, GF Road, and Jianxin Road (Fang 2000a).

⁵¹ One of the two smelting furnaces once stood behind the Chinese Lutheran Brethren Victory Church (中華基督教信義會新竹勝利堂). It was partially damaged in the air raid by the U.S. air force during WWII and its smokestack was torn down later for the sake of civilian safety by the Ministry of National Defence in 1969, while the brick walls of the building remained. The other smelting furnace near Dingbu Ditch (汀埔圳, also known by the locals as River JG, 建功河), survives with its smokestack and brick walls (but without a roof). One oil depot has been transformed into the Xiang Yang Theatre for Performing Arts (向陽藝術館) in Jian Gong Primary School, while the other two lie dormant and hidden in the former Loyalty Kindergarten (中真幼稚園) within LN Village (Fang 2000a).

On Jianxin Road stands one of the Japanese naval factory brick buildings, generally known as ‘the Widows’ Dwellings (寡婦樓) [guafu lou]



(Figure 24). It once housed many widows who had lost their husbands during the war. Decades later, the majority of the building's residents are not widows, due to deuterogamy or former residents moving elsewhere when aging (Lin 2009). Several Japanese naval factory buildings, except for the oil depot, were demolished to accommodate JG Elementary School in 1960, which was set up to accommodate the increasing number of children of quartered servicemen. Dugouts made of concrete and covered by brown earth were destroyed to make space for General Welfare Service Ministry, Guang Fu Branch (國軍福利總處新竹市光復福利站, shortened to the *Guojun Fuli* Store, 國軍福利站); the former fuel storage for the Japanese military aircrafts, near the intersection of Gongdao 5th Road and Jianxin Road, was taken over by CPC Underground Oil Depot (臺灣中油地下油庫) in the post-war years, which has not been used since 2005 (Lin 2009). Military landscapes gave way to urbanisation. Though people's memories of them remain vivid in their minds, the constructions of the past over time become

debris washed away in history. Only those memories still in use and in action are apt to survive.

There were times that natural waters were part of LN villagers' daily life. A V-shaped gully (with a depth of 30 metres) bordered by a dozen or more humble huts was once full of water from the artificial lake in *Qingda* and the mountainous spring from *Baoshan* (寶山), a neighbouring township. Many LN villagers, including Mr Fang Jr, the head of Jungong Borough (軍功里, hereafter JG Borough), and his childhood friends, used to swim and catch shrimps in it in the 1960s. It was later filled and levelled up to be the playing field of Hsinchu Municipal Chienkung Senior High School in 1999 (Lin 2009). The other popular place for children to play was *Dingbu* Ditch (汀埔圳, also known by the locals as River JG) near JG Road, which was dug by the Japanese. In the 1960s, the water was so clear and clean that it attracted a large number of children wanting to swim in it, among whom a few unfortunates were drowned.

Not long after the tragic incidents, religion came into LN villagers' life though many *waishengren* had been nonbelievers in mainland China. *Fude* Temple (福德宮, a temple of the earth god) was subsequently built by devout locals to worship the earth god and protect children from evils and drowning (Figure 25).⁵² The temple was moved to its present site opposite the *Guojun Fuli* Store due to Project Gongdao 5th Road, a boulevard construction in 2006. It is expected to be moved somewhere else soon because the local landlord plans to claim the land (Lin 2009). In this case, the deity seems to share similar experiences of migration with many of its believers. Since 1976, the highest temple in *Chituqi* has been the *Tianhong* Temple (天宏宮, a temple of the Golden Mother of the Shin-

⁵² Commoners often call the deity *Tudigong* (土地公), which means 'earth grandpa.' This may reflect the close relationship between the common people and the deity. This Earth God is often portrayed as an elderly man with a long white beard, a black or gold hat, and a red or yellow robe, which signifies his position as a bureaucrat.

ing Lake) (Figure 26).⁵³ Mr Hu, an ex-serviceman from Air Force Engineering Wing (空軍工程聯隊), who is the builder and the high priest of the temple, is also the CEO of Chi Deh Crane Engineering Co., Ltd (啟德機械起重工程股份有限公司). Apart from the common Taoist faith, Protestantism and Catholicism were also introduced to *Chituqi*. A local church (聚會所) established by Christian residents once stood on Jianxin Road.⁵⁴ A provisional teahouse near LN Village was bought by the American Rev E. C. Anadahl and then transformed into the Chinese Lutheran Brethren Victory Church (中華基督教信義會新竹勝利堂) on 13 March 1955 (Figure 27).⁵⁵ In 1956, St Michael's Church and its ancillary nursery school on JG Road were founded by the Austrian, Father Josef Marx (Fang 2000a).⁵⁶

In addition to spiritual needs, the physical needs of residents in *Chituqi* were catered to by local pedlars in the past and by the market further down the hill nowadays. *Shuiyuan* Market (水源市場), the second largest market in the East

⁵³ The Golden Mother of the Shining Lake, whose official Taoist title is *Yaochi Jinmu* (瑤池金母). This is an ancient Chinese goddess, also known in Japan and Korea. In 1991, Mr Hu, the high priest of *Tianhong* Temple enshrined Dr. Sun Yat-sen, 孫中山, the founder of the ROC and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, 蔣介石, the dictator of the R.O.C. between 1949 and 1975.

⁵⁴ It was located near the second building of the present MZ Public Housing (孟竹國宅).

⁵⁵ The Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church (中華基督教信義會) was registered in 1958, and traced the legacy of 'The Church of the Lutheran Brethren of North America' in 1900. Rev E. C. Anadahl and his wife travelled from the U.S. to Henan province in China on a mission between 1933 and 1939. The Anadahl family returned to East Asia to undertake missionary work in Taiwan between 1954 and 1977. The Chinese Lutheran Brethren Victory Church was rebuilt twice, in 1967 and 1996 (Hsu 2005; Foundation of the Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church 2005).

⁵⁶ The Roman Catholic Diocese of Hsinchu (Latin: *Dioecesis Hsinchuensis*) was established in 1961. Austrian Father Josef Marx (馬懷仁神父), born in Wien, Austria in 1904, visited China in 1928 and was evicted by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1952. He travelled as a missionary to Beipu (北埔) and Emei (峨嵋) in Hsinchu County, Taiwan in 1954, establishing Our Lady of the Way (善導聖母堂) in 1955, and St. Michael (聖彌格爾堂) and St. Anna (聖亞納堂) in 1956. He also founded St. Michael's Nursery School where he preached to the mothers. Before 1959, 89 converted families attended St. Michael and 53 families (including catechumenal) attended St. Anna. Until 1961, 800 Catholics and 400 catechumens frequented these two churches (Taipei Office in Society of Jesus, Chinese Province 2010).

District (東區) in Hsinchu City, once a narrow lane with 60 to 70 vendors, is now relocated between Jianzhong Road and Xinyuan Street near *Chituqi* Park, which is bordered by GF Road to its south and Dingbu Ditch to its north (Lin 2009). Today, individual vendors sell their wares under the one roof of the market. Locally produced products are in abundance, while others sell clothing, shoes, pots and pans and other sundry items (Katchen 2011).⁵⁷ Entertainment could also be found around the corner in the old days. The defunct Ambassador Cinema (國賓戲院) with its interior once sumptuously decorated, is located a mere 20 metres away from the east part of Shui-Yuan Market (SY Market), and, despite its popularity from 1982 onwards, is now a condemned building (Lin 2009). Large lawns between Xinyuan Street and Shuiyuan Street are now children's playgrounds where people stroll after supper (Figure 22).⁵⁸

As shown in the above paragraphs and in the map and photos, the river of time deposits history, geography and memory in the material form of remains and institutions on the hill of *Chituqi*. There are attachments and connections between this place and people living on it, including the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. *Chituqi*, where LN Village sits, is an everyday landscape (Kuo 2007) rather than an isolated ghetto to be avoided, and now an area of a new generation (Lin 2009).

⁵⁷ Traditional markets are still important despite the many modern supermarkets in Taiwan. Most open in the mornings, closing at noon; originally this was where housewives bought their daily food. Now, with more working women, traditional markets tend to be busier on weekends. Vegetables are fresher and cheaper, as are pork, chicken, and fish. The local market is always busy and exciting, and a place to meet neighbours (Katchen 2011).

⁵⁸ This was home to the former JN Village and BCN Village before demolition.

Figures

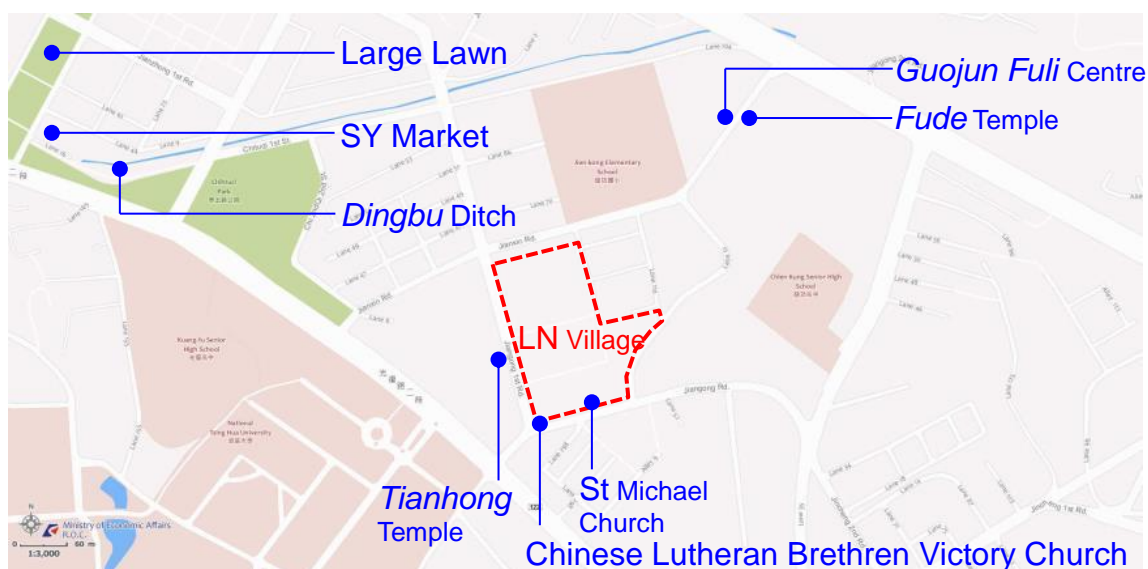


Figure 22: Map showing historical and geographical landmarks near LN Village in *Chituqi*



Figure 23: Remains of the Imperial Japanese Naval Sixth Fuel Plant: the smokestack and the brick-walled building near Dingbu Ditch (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 24: The Widows' Dwellings (the former Japanese naval factory brick building)



Figure 25: The courtyard of Fude Temple, and its volunteers enjoying time of hanging around



Figure 26: The façade of *Tianhong* Temple and the statue of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek



Figure 27: The Chinese Lutheran Brethren Victory Church (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

3.1.3 Demographical and culinary topography

The first wave of settlers arrived *Chituqi* in 1949 after WWII. The Colonel of Regiment 21 of the ROC army led approximately fifty people to retreat from Hainan Island to Taiwan; among them were families who had lost contact with their soldier husbands, and dependents of servicemen in Regiment 39 and 50 who had fallen in battle during the Chinese Civil War. They were billeted in the three Japanese naval factory buildings around the corner of JG 1st road and Jianxin Road, one of them later known as ‘the Widows’ Dwellings’.⁵⁹ In August 1949, the fifth branch of the Taiwan Fertilizer Co., Ltd (臺肥五廠) was established in Hsinchu, and by the end of the year its employees and their dependents were allotted the Japanese naval factory office building near GF Road (Fang 2000a).⁶⁰

The second settlement was established in May 1953 when a few families of servicemen in an air force squadron moved into the three Japanese naval factory buildings. Later that same year, Regiment 4 of the army received funding of 50 thousand NT dollars to build BJN Village for 13 households.⁶¹ At that time, a few humble huts and vegetable plots were scattered along GF Road, JG Road, JG 1st Road and Jianxin Road (Fang 2000a).

The third wave of immigrants arrived in February 1954. Officers and the enlisted men of Air Force Engineering Wing set up LN Village by themselves. Owing to the limited number of houses at this stage, only some of them moved in. More houses were built in 1956, which brought more servicemen and their families

⁵⁹ This belongs to BCN Village (北赤土崎新村). According to Mrs LL Chang (張麗廉女士), one of the residents, she recalls that the building was full of empty oil drums and refining equipment when she moved to this depopulated area. Some dwellers moved out as a result of deuterogamy or reunion with their family.

⁶⁰ It was located where KF Public Housing (光復國宅) presently stands.

⁶¹ Its location was at Lane 1, JG Road

into LN Village, while more residents of the humble huts along JG 1st Road and Jianxin Road started their businesses by selling homemade food or running barbershops. Land was free of charge until the Veteran Affairs Commission (行政院退除役官兵輔導會), asked people to buy property rights at a low price from it. During this time, a medical company in the army (陸軍衛生連) bought a piece of land and built barracks on it next to LN Village.⁶² There has been no large-scale in-or-out migration of *Chituqi* since the late 1950s (Fang 2000a).

Since the 1980s, the establishment of Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park (新竹科學工業園區, hereafter HSP) has drawn an increasing number of college students to NTHU and National Chiao Tung University (國立交通大學, hereafter NCTU),⁶³ many of whom found jobs with decent salaries following graduation. Students and young professionals from around Taiwan still come to live in or around *Chituqi*, and the prices of commodities, property and rents have risen henceforward. Low-level houses along JG Road, JG 1st Road and Jianxin Road have been replaced by high-rise buildings since the 1990s. In 1996, the 'Statute Governing Reconstruction of Old Military Dependents' Villages' confirmed the new wave of urban renewal (Fang 2000a; Lin 2009).⁶⁴ For example, the 15-storey GF Public Housing (光復國宅) was constructed in 1999 on the site of the former fifth branch of the Taiwan Fertilizer Co., Ltd., and, in the same year, the crude barracks of the army brigade by the south side of River JG that had been located there since 1968 were replaced by the modern building of Hsinchu Military Police Brigade (新竹憲兵隊). The imminent urban renewal, which plans to remove LN Village, BCN Village and BJN Village, is due to take place in the

⁶² This place later became RD Public Housing (仁德國宅). See Subsection 3.2.1 for details.

⁶³ HSP is an industrial park established by the ROC government on December 15, 1980, with investment from the KMT (Chinese Nationalist Party).

⁶⁴ The Statute budgets money to replace *juancun* (military dependents villages) with modern, high-rise buildings.

2010s (Fang 2000a). In past decades, people have seen growing heights of buildings and evolving infrastructures, as well as diversifying communities and businesses under billboards.

Chituqi's demography changes not only the visual but also the culinary topography. The Chinese diaspora in *Chituqi*, many of whose spouses are from both China and Taiwan, bring their tastes and cooking into this land. For example, Laochenji Noodle Shop (老陳記麵食館), located at the corner of Jianxin Road and GF Road since the 1960s, was once known far and wide.⁶⁵ The chef's niece opened another noodle shop 'Chenji' (陳記麵食館) on Jianxin Road (Lin 2009). A Beijing duck restaurant and a dumpling eatery near GF High School were also popular. The Wanji 814 Ice Lolly Shop (萬記 814 冰棒店) used to sell ice lollipops for only 5 to 20 cents in days past, which was established 50 years ago by Mr Chen, a veteran. It was later renamed the Xingtai Ice Shop (興泰冰店) before it was moved further east to the present location next to GF Steam Bun Shop (光復饅頭店) (Lin 2009). Some eateries in *Chituqi* are run by LN villagers, such as Chang's Noodle Shop (張家麵), Fullbite Noodle Shop (滿口快餐麵食), and Meng's Noodle Shop (孟家麵店) (Figure 29 and Figure 30).⁶⁶ These specialty diners offered some of the past immigrants jobs, the first step on the social ladder, and they could be the quintessential and successful forms of entrepreneurship for LN villagers, providing self-built economic and cultural rescue packages (for example, Mrs Jia's youngest daughter ran a diner, see 4.1.3). Specialty dishes or diners originated from nearby *juancun* have been noticed and discussed (Erway 2015), and so have socio-historical or political examinations into food and identity in Taiwan (Chang 2011; Hsiao and Lim 2015). Culi-

⁶⁵ It moved to Guangfu Road and closed afterwards though.

⁶⁶ It is generally considered that noodles are the staple food of people from Northern China while rice is central to those from Southern China and Taiwan.

nary culture often develops in tandem with demographical topography, and *Chituqi* may be argued to be no exception.

Chituqi has once provided a route for log transportation, then a military industrial site under Japanese rule, quarters for Chinese servicemen and their dependents after WWII, and the most important industrial park in Taiwan since the 1980s. It tells stories of Hakkas who powered wagons transporting logs, of *Waishengren* who lived in ghetto-like communities, of technology industry workers and local business owners of different ethnic groups from every corner of Taiwan (Lin 2009).⁶⁷ Changes of residential buildings, industry and food with time reveal that LN villagers have witnessed and become part of the demographical and culinary topography.

⁶⁷ Many Hakka left *Chituqi* after WWII due to the arrival of mainland Chinese as well as the demise of wagon transportation, which was replaced by commercial carriers, such as HCT Logistics (新竹貨運) and Hsinchu Transportation Co., Ltd. (新竹客運), using newly-constructed roads. The completion of the Neiwan Line (內灣線), a railway branch transporting lime mortar and logs between Hsinchu and Neiwan (內灣), also contributed to drawing Hakkas away from *Chituqi*, leaving most parts of Hsinchu City to military, public and teaching personnel (軍公教人員) (Lin 2009).

Figures



Figure 28: (Left) The billboard of Chenji Noodle Shop (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2010)



Figure 29: (Right) Meng's Noodle Shop (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2010)

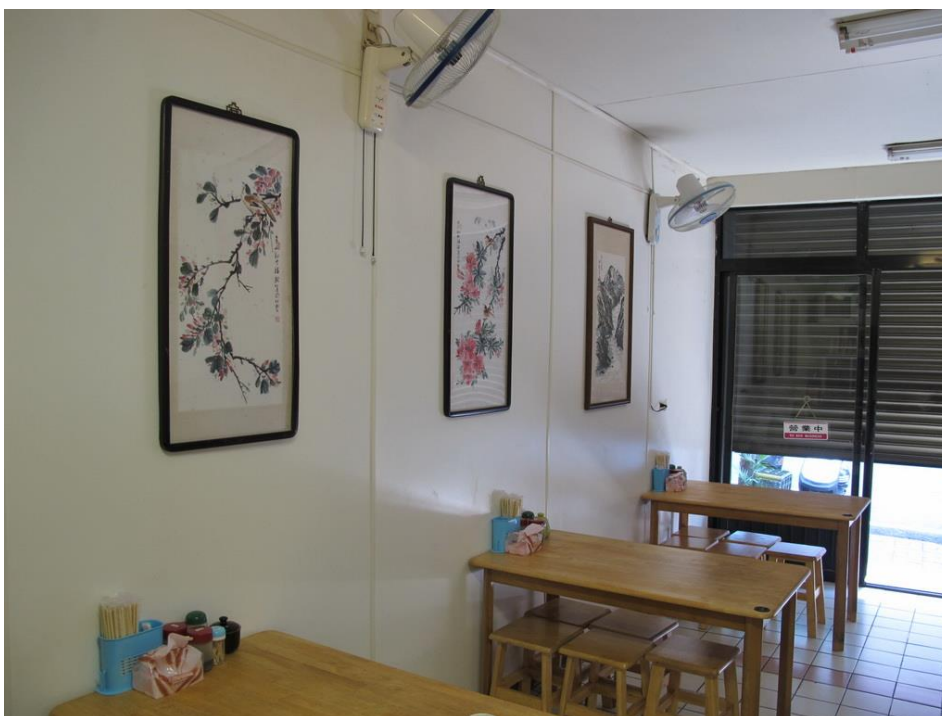


Figure 30: Ink wash paintings on the wall of Meng's Noodle Shop (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2010)

3.1.4 Economic and industrial scenery

There is also change in economy. In Taiwan, the development of an export-oriented economy with mainly American investment since the mid-1960s, created a prosperous entrepreneurial middle class consisting mostly of native Taiwanese business owners who moved up the social ladder and joined a civil servant/managerial middle class comprised of mainland Chinese (Yang and Chang 2010: 111). In Hill Gates' terms (1981: 274-276), mainland Chinese civil servants and managers were 'new middle class,' while Taiwanese small business owners were 'traditional middle class'. However, most of the first-generation *Waishengren* in LN Village were not among them. Here, almost every serviceman struggled to support his family on a meagre salary⁶⁸.

In the 1950s, when the second generation were born to the village, it was common for each family to have four to five children, and to face problems of crowded living spaces, expenses of daily life and tuition fees for education⁶⁹. Therefore, domestic work sidelines were usual in the 1960s. Many women, sometimes together with their children, eked out small incomes by making hairnets (編結髮網), Christmas lights (編串聖誕燈泡) and match boxes (糊火柴盒), weaving sweaters (有編織毛衣), tailoring custom dresses (代客裁縫衣服), embroidering (刺繡) and washing clothes for other people (代人洗衣). Some of them also earned extra money by breeding leghorns (來亨雞), by rearing broiler chickens such as Rhode Island Reds (洛島紅), Plymouth Rocks (蘆花雞), and Cochins (九斤雞) and other birds, and hogs, as well as growing and selling veg-

⁶⁸ In the 1950s, impoverishment was common. The monthly salary of a captain was 70 NT dollars. In 1961, it increased to 360 NT dollars. In 1967, the monthly salary for a major was 560 NT dollars, the same as a female factory worker (Li 2006).

⁶⁹ The beginning of every school term was the hardest time for many families, particularly for those with multiple children, because few could manage to pay tuition fees without borrowing (借薪餉) or rotating savings (標會) (Li 2006).

etables. Several women chose to leave their family in Hsinchu and worked as housekeepers in big cities such as Taipei for a period of time (Li 2006; Tsao 2007).

In the 1960s and the 1970s, Catholic churches around the village helped the weak and aided the needy. The second generation of villagers warmly remembered milk powder, second-hand clothes and greeting cards from the U.S. being dispensed by the church. As they were children, they enjoyed visiting the church and receiving essentials from it (Li 2006). In the 1970s, most servicemen in the village retired from the Air Force Engineering Wing, many of whom continued to work in trades and professions, such as driving buses or taxis. The life of villagers was significantly improved after the mid-1970s due to the transformation from agriculture to industry in Taiwanese society and the second generation obtaining employment. For instance, Mrs Fang's family bettered their economic situation by several hundred of U.S. dollars being sent to them by her second son who served aboard as a sailor (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). Domestic sidelines were therefore no longer needed then. The establishment of HSP in 1980 also improved employment rates, salary and consumption, and has brought development to the area (Li 2006). Therefore, the scenery of *Chituqi* has changed enormously. Two high streets of *Chituqi*, GF Road and JG 2nd Road, are now bustling with noise and excitement where many shops, eateries, and street vendor, all decorated with exuberant signs and displays. *Chituqi* transforms into famous *Qingda* living perimeter, a popular eating and grocery-shopping attraction for tourists, college students and local residents.

3.2 Territories of LN Village

After reviewing how LN Village and *Chituqi* developed in time and space, Section 3.2 examines the shape and coverage of the community by looking into layers of physicality, administration and imagination, and reveals how this produced neighbourhood are constituted 'by relatively stable associations and shared histories, and by collectively traversed and legible spaces and places' (Appadurai 1996: 191).

3.2.1 LN Village and its adjacent hamlets

In the beginning, there were 218 households, originally from the same military unit, in LN Village (Tsao 2007). LN Village, with its current 165 households, was once an isolated community on the hill of *Chituqi*. Conveniently located 2 kilometres away from a freeway junction and 3.5 kilometres from downtown Hsinchu City, it is now one of the few remaining military dependents villages engulfed by urban sprawl (Institute of Law and Government at National Central University 2010; Li 2006; Tsao 2007).⁷⁰ It is a low-rise close quarter penned in by waves of noise and trade from outside, and surrounded by a primary school (north), a high school (east), a university (further west), public housing communities (south and west) and a commercial street (west). Its boundary can be roughly demarcated by JG 1st Road, JG Road, and Jianxin Road. The glove-shaped area seen from aerial photograph (Figure 31 and Figure 32), includes an adjacent hamlet with low-slung houses next to LN Village, the Widows' Dwellings, whose residents share part of their public space and memory with those in LN Village from the 1950s. The nearby RD Public Housing of 4-storey apartments from 1978, the inhabitants of which are from another unit and have relatively limited contact with LN villagers. The clear-cut border is acknowledged by both LN villagers and locals, which are of other ethnicities and of *Waishengren* from other armed services.⁷¹

Most first-generation LN villagers came from provinces in East China such as Shandong (山東), Jiangsu (江蘇), and Anhui (安徽), where the troops were recruited during the war (Figure 33). In the 1980s, many second-generation vil-

⁷⁰ 35280 square metres (96.71 per cent) of the land belongs to the state (土地權屬國有), 1065 square metres (2.92 per cent) to the county (土地權屬縣有), and 134 square metres (0.37 per cent) is private. A total of 214 house units were built (165 units in LN Village, 38 by the side of Dingbu Ditch or River JG, and 11 elsewhere) (Li 2006).

⁷¹ Many latecomers are unaware of LN Village because it cannot be seen from the street. An inscribed stele was erected in 2005 at the inconspicuous entrance on JG 1st Road.

lagers reached adulthood and started their own families, and they had no choice but move out due to the increasing number of family members and limited living space in the village. Many male villagers of the first generation passed away in recent past years, and a few houses have been vacated for some time (Figure 34).

When economic advancement was seen in Taiwan in the 1970s, higher prices of commodities and properties followed. In order to provide affordable housing, the government initiated several public housing projects in *Chituqi* due to its convenient location and vacant state property. For example, RD Public Housing's (仁德國宅) 192 flat units were completed in August 1978, following the removal of the army's medical company. More flats were built near Jianxin Road and JG 1st Road by NCTU for its teaching and administrative staff. Built between 1978 and 1983 (Fang 2000a), these university living quarters are ZN Village (在莒新村), NCTU JG Dormitory (交大建功宿舍) and DN Village (德林新村). However, there were few interactions between these neighbouring residential buildings or hamlets due to the fact that their residents were of different military units or institutions (Fang 2000b). All public housing and military villages were purposefully built for married military officers and soldiers with family members, or university teaching and administrative staff. Single servicemen had to make shelters for and by themselves; some of these illegally built houses near the villages remained *in situ* while others were demolished to make way for the establishment of Hsinchu Municipal Chienkung Senior High School in 1999. After unmarried veterans died or moved out, these makeshift dens were rented out to newcomers such as Taiwanese aborigines from neighbouring areas (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009). Today, LN Village is composed of contrasting tiny terraced houses: those deserted houses with paper strip seals on the door, and well-maintained others with colourful potted gardens at the front or the back. As we have seen in this subsection, there are visible and invisible boundaries defined by LN Village and other communities. There are other boundaries outlined by administrative divisions and imagination, which are explicated in the following two subsections.

Figures



Figure 31: LN Village in the shape of a glove (Google Satellite Map)



Figure 32: Overlooking LN Village from south and the smokestack in the distance

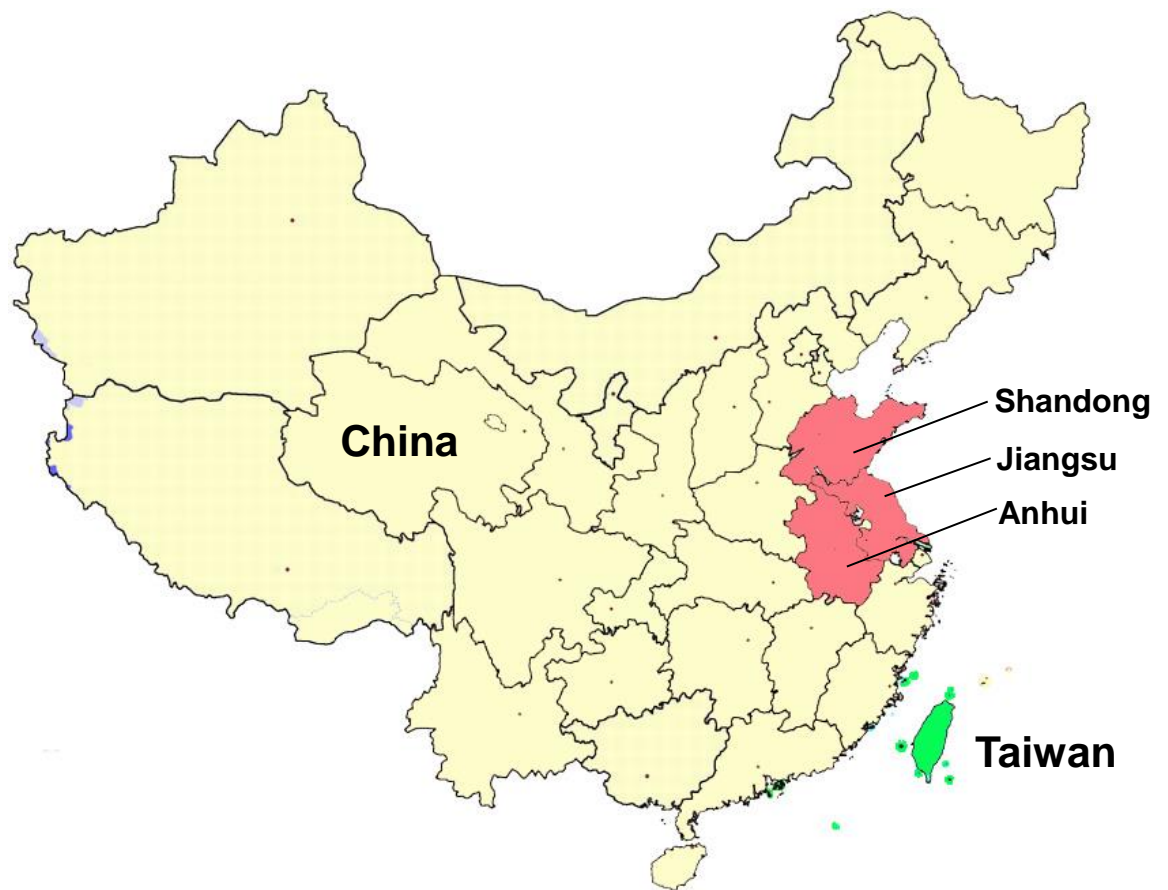


Figure 33: Shandong, Jiangsu, Anhui in China and Taiwan



Figure 34: A deserted house with paper strip seals on the door (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

3.2.2 East District and its boroughs

Names have great power as spaces are appropriated into places (Frake 1996: 235), which illustrates how stories about places coalesce into a kind of collective memory that helps to formulate community identities (Kaul 2011: 242). This can be meticulously explained in the case of JG Borough. JG Borough, to which LN Village belongs, is an administrative subdivision of East District. East District is composed of 53 boroughs and nearly 200 thousand people. Today JG Borough borders Ligong Borough (立功里) with JG Road to the east, Fenggong Borough (豐功里) and Wugong Borough (武功里) with Dingbu Ditch (or River JG) to the west and Gongdao 5th Road to the north, and Guangming Borough (光明里) with GF Road to the south (Figure 35) (Fang 2000a). These boroughs, except Guangming Borough, are titled with the suffix '*gong* (功, exploits)' because they were originally populated with military servicemen and their dependents after WWII. 'I was born in JG Borough before it was named and then watched it become established and grow; my life will never separate from it,' said Mr Fang Jr, the head of JG Borough (Fang 2000b).

Place names are of such vital significance because they act to transform the purely physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced (Tilley 1994: 18). In 1969, the former JG Borough (0.1299 square kilometres) was divided into three boroughs, JG, Ligong and Jungong (JG), due to increasing numbers of residents. However, some servicemen insisted that they be in the same borough as their colleagues. Hence they formed an enclave of JG Borough within the ambit of Ligong Borough and an enclave of Ligong Borough within the ambit of the JG and JG Boroughs. These enclaves show us two facts: First, those who demanded to stay with their comrades-in-arms in the same administrative subdivision are servicemen of determination; Second, boroughs here imply separate troops. The majority of original residents in JG Borough were LN Villagers from the Air Force Engineering Wing and their dependents in the beginning, before the borough growing into the most populated of the five boroughs in *Chituqi*, with a population of 4624 people in 1808

households in August 2011 (East District Household Registration Office 2011; Fang 2000a; Li 2006).⁷² Over 60 years later, this territory of military soldiers and officers can still be discerned by careful observers through tacit knowledge, graffiti (Figure 36), and villagers' suspicious attitudes towards strangers who cross the boundary. However, the border is indeed more and more porous and vague.

East District, as the most important electoral ward in Hsinchu City, can tell us more about boundaries surrounding LN Village.⁷³ Ms Shuying Chung, my landlady Mrs Bian's daughter-in-law, has served as one of the 11 councillors from the East District since 1990. During the latest election of Hsinchu municipality councillors in December 2009, Chung ran in the election and successfully renewed her term of office until 2014. On 4th of December 2009, the eve of the election, Chung, accompanied by her supporters from LN Village and beyond, organised the final street canvassing departing from and eventually returning to the campaign office at the south border of LN Village on Jianxin Road (a route map is shown below). Banners were waved along the parade route and vote solicitations were broadcast (Figure 37 and Figure 38). They passed through neighbouring public housing communities and local temples in order to court undecided voters and drum up votes. Similar to the administrative border of JG Borough, the boundary of the electoral ward may seem invisible to outsiders most of the time but actually in effect, and it is made manifest on the eve of the election every four years. And its intensity and degrees of clarity can be felt, recorded, conceived, and evidenced through phenomenology, ethnography, anthropology and material culture, as proposed in Chapter 2. After looking at

⁷² Of the 40 neighbourhoods (鄰) in *Jungong* Borough, eight (from 6th to 13th) lie in the boundary of LN Village.

⁷³ Hsinchu city council is composed of 33 council members, which are elected from 6 electoral wards. Among the six wards, East District is the largest one. 11 council members are from this ward. The election is held every four years.

these borough-level, electoral divisions, another division through connection is discussed briefly in the next subsection.

Figures



Figure 35: JG Borough and its neighbouring boroughs: all but one are suffixed with 'gong'



Figure 36: The division between villages shown in graffiti on the wall: 'Only local villagers can put garbage bags against the wall (temporarily before they are collected into garbage truck). Others are not allowed to do so. Those who do not comply with this will be condemned.'



Figure 37: The final street canvassing, supporters wearing election vests and waving banners

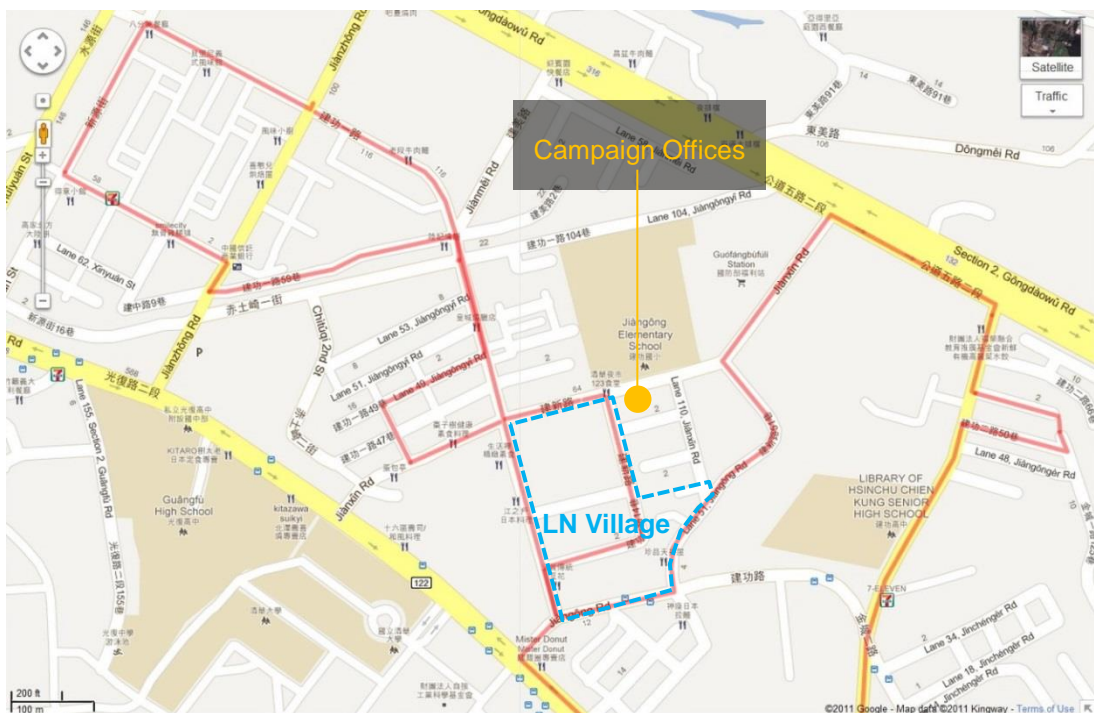


Figure 38: Election campaign route of street canvassing on the eve of Election Day

3.2.3 An imagined community beyond LN Village:

As a community with a boundary, LN Village also connects to other villages and therefore forms part of the larger picture of *Juancun* (military dependents' villages), imagined community throughout Taiwan. Different individuals may relate themselves to disparate villages due to various reasons. Three examples are illustrated below through Mrs Bian, Mrs Pan, and Xiao Bian.

The first connection is through sharing the same birthplace. Mrs Bian from Yunnan province of China, is clearly aware that some of her countrymen dwell in other places such as the Army villages in Jhongli City (中壢市) in Northern Taiwan. She emotionally told me in detail, 'They are led by General Li and they are from Yunnan province too. We all come from the same province.'⁷⁴ The second connection is through branches of the armed forces, in this case the Air Force. Mrs Pan helped create a leisure centre for the elderly in LN Village after visiting one in another Air Force village near Jingguo Road. She persuaded Mr Chang, the head of the village, into refurbishing two classrooms of a disused kindergarten, and opening them to all by challenging him, 'Those people with a leisure centre were Air Force villagers just like us. Why can't we have what they've got?' With the permission of the head villager, and funding from Ms Shuying Chung the councillor, the leisure centre of LN Village has now become a popular place where LN villagers play Mahjong and sing karaoke.

The final case is based on recognition of accent. Xiao Bian, a third-generation LN villager, once told me that among all the people he had ever met, he could immediately discern those who were from *Juancun* by the way they talk, because they have 'sonorous voices which are heavily influenced by military cul-

⁷⁴ Between 1949 and 1954, Division 93 was led by General Li Mi, and retreated from Northern Burma to Northern Thailand. It was then termed as an 'Isolated Force (孤軍)'. Later, General Li and part of his armed forces were withdrawn from the Indo-China peninsula to Jhongli City, Taoyuan County, Taiwan. The government arranged for them to settle in another, identically titled Loyalty New Village, though not that of the village studied in this research.

ture.' 'I can easily tell if a man has grown up in a *juancun* by listening to his tone and his way of speaking,' he asserted, 'it's quite different.' After the conversation with Xiao Bian, and meeting more people from LN Village and many other *Juancun*, I gradually found his assertion understandable. It is important to notice that not all people with the 'accent' are *waishengren*. Even those with Hoklo, Hakka, or Austronesian origin and married to the Chinese diaspora, may speak '*juancun* accent.' The ineffable nuances may therefore be explained by Bourdieu's concept of habitus because separation not only protected but also welded an immigrant community of different origins together. While our strained society calls on its citizens to downplay differences between culturally diverse groups, this may tell us the fact that imagined community is always in our mind and the best policy is to face it rather than blind ourselves to it.

Last but not least, it is worth repeating that LN Village is an abbreviation of Air Force Loyalty New Village, and this naming contributes to its identification. Its name reflects local histories of power and the stories told by locals and government agencies, which are a form of 'narrative emplacement' (Strang and Busse 2011: 9). A neighbourhood named in certain ways becomes that neighbourhood through the practices of people in response to the labels. 'People and places script each other' (Amin and Thrift 2002: 23). In chronicling local events, a narrative of the place is constructed, and, over the years, the place comes to be memorialized in detail. This particular lane, that specialty diner, the popular corner, and specific accents become known to residents in the neighbourhood and through their collective naming we have a more holistic view of the place.

3.3 Itineraries of LN villagers

Many residents of *juancun* have reported their migrations within Taiwan and attachments to places of residency due to post transfer, residence-searching or retirement (Liao 2006; The Ninth Office at Veterans Affairs Council 2006; Yang 1996). In this section, the macro and micro histories of the Air Force Engineering Wing and its servicemen's dependents tell us that the first generation Chinese

Diaspora took two or more routes to cross the Taiwan Strait and converged on LN Village, from which the second and third generation grew roots or diverged.

3.3.1 Routing the Air Force Engineering Wing through history

The original LN villagers, the officers, servicemen (and their families) of the Air Force Engineering Wing (空軍工程聯隊) [kongjun gongcheng liandui], dedicated their whole lives to paving the way for airplanes and they developed attachment to the airports which saw fighter and civilian airplanes taking off and landing (Figure 39). Before retreating to Taiwan, the Engineering Wing's predecessor was the Army Aviation Engineering Corps (陸軍航空工兵團) [lujun hangkong gongbingtuan], a mechanized unit under General Chuanzhong Chen's (陳傳忠將軍) command. It served to construct and maintain airfields in major cities such as Nanjing, Hangzhou, Hankou, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Fuzhou and the Zhoushan Islands (Li 2006; Tsao 2007).⁷⁵ When the Nationalists (KMT) were defeated by the Communists (CCP) in 1949, the crew of the Air Force Engineering Wing retreated respectively from Shanghai, Fuzhou and Guangzhou in East China to Taiwan. In past decades, they were stationed in different places to maintain airports around Taiwan, such as Kaohsiung (高雄), Chaozhou (潮州), Gangshan (岡山), Tainan (臺南), Chiayi (嘉義) and Hsinchu (新竹). Before finally dwelling in *Chituqi*, these servicemen's dependents had to make do with whatever they received around the military camp; it was a sojourning life with no fixed abode (Tsao 2007).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ For example, Daxiaochang Airport in Nanjing (南京大校場機場), Jianqiao Airport in Hangzhou (杭州笕橋機場), Wangjiadun Airport in Hankou (漢口王家墩機場), Jiangwan Airport (上海江灣機場) and Dachang Airport (上海大場機場) in Shanghai, Tianhe Airport (廣州天河機場) and Baiyun Airport (廣州白雲機場) in Guangzhou, Yishu Airport in Fuzhou (福州義序機場), and Daishan Airport in Zhoushan Islands (舟山群島岱山機場) (Li 2006; Tsao 2007).

⁷⁶ It was estimated that only 5-10 per cent of servicemen came to Taiwan with their dependents (Tsao 2007).

After the extension of Hsinchu Airport was completed by the Air Force Engineering Wing in 1954, General He Yuan (袁和將軍), the leader of the Engineering Wing, sympathized with his subordinates' and their families who were eager to settle down. Without authorisation from his superiors, he ordered that remaining materials be used to construct nine rows of terraced houses with red-tiled roofs and bamboo fences in *Chituqi*. It gave birth to a new *juancun*, Air Force LN Village, in February 1954.⁷⁷ From these few terraced houses and factory-adapted residences, the village gradually grew to accommodate 214 households over an area of 36479 square metres by adding more houses in the following years.⁷⁸ At first, there were no cobbled streets but simple muddy paths in the village (Li 2006). Each house was equipped with only a 1-tsubo (3.31 square metres) kitchen and no bathroom⁷⁹. Every ten houses shared one tap and one electric meter between them. In the 1970s, the village underwent a substantial renovation at its own expense, and transformed the brick houses into two- or three-story reinforced brick houses with steel inside. Unpleasant living conditions were not improved until the late 1970s, when military pay increased and the second generation of villagers graduated from school and obtained employment (Tsao 2007).

⁷⁷ In 1949, some of the Air Force Engineering Wing servicemen's dependents took shelter in the Japanese Naval factory buildings in *Chituqi* or put up tents in the neighbourhood. At that time, LN Village was not yet formed. When LN Village was established in 1954, villagers originally intended to name it 'Peace' Village (和村) ['He' cun] to remember General 'He' Yuan, but General He Yuan declined the idea in favour of denominating it Loyalty New Village (Li 2006).

⁷⁸ LN Villagers could not demolish the buildings and oil depots left by the Japanese to make more room for residence due to limited time and technology while moving into *Chituqi*. During the first phase, nine rows of terraced houses were built for 60 households in 1954; in the second phase, 10 rows of terraced houses for 169 families were built in 1957, financed by Headquarters Air Force. In 1975, low-slung houses were replaced by reinforced concrete multi-storey buildings at the villagers' own expense (Li 2006; Tsao 2007).

⁷⁹ The *tsubo* (坪), which is essentially the area of two standard sized *tatami* mats, is still commonly used when discussing land pricing in Japan and Taiwan.

For years, most single-storey houses with small red-tiled roofs and factory-adapted ones with large black-tiled roofs have been remodelled and enlarged into ferroconcrete brick buildings of two or three stories, which cost the residents large amounts of their painstakingly stashed savings. Understandably, when the government ask them to move, these *Juancun Waishengren*, including LN villagers, are reluctant to be relocated to the pigeonhole-like apartments of high-rise public housing nearby because of owning their self-funded houses and regularly-maintained neighbourhood, and of being used to roaming around low-slung residential units, rather than moving into tall apartments with lifts. 'But we have to be amenable to the government policy,' say many residents, who have complied with rules and orders for decades (Tsao 2007).

'Every "*juancun*" is a "clan" (每個「眷村」就是一個「家族」) [meige juancun jiushi yige jiazu], and 'each gradually develops from its particular historical contingency, members of various provinces in China with varied accents, tastes, memories, traumata and hopes. By standing together in times of need and sharing weal and woe, a certain collective consciousness in *juancun* is nurtured' (Li 2006: 13).

Figures

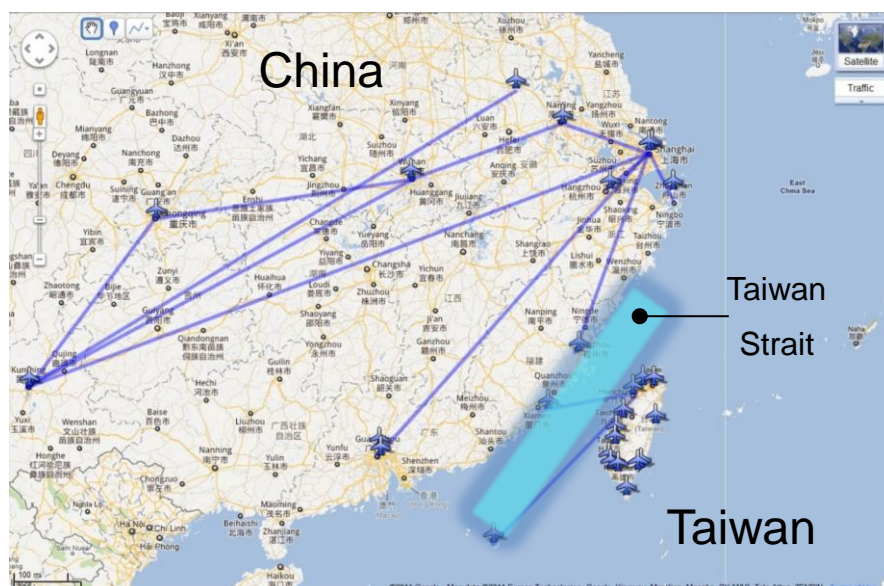


Figure 39: Map showing flights connected between military bases/airports which the Air Force Engineering Wing used to maintained across the Taiwan Strait (Edited from Google Map)

3.3.2 Rooting families in memory and dwelling

Among the 40 cases in LN Village between April 2009 and July 2010, Mrs Pan's and Mrs Tsai's stories represent two major strands of family histories: one from mainland China and the other from Taiwan. Mrs Guo's and Mrs Qian's life experiences tell of their ethnic encounters and two types of current circumstances: one of melancholy and the other of contentment. In their narratives we understand how 'movement between places involves their sequential experience', and how 'the production of a narrative' links 'the body to place and events in place' (Tilley 2004: 26).

Mrs Pan's family history originated in China. Born in Peking (北平, Beijing's old name), China in 1929, Mrs Pan is the daughter of two graduates from Peking Normal University. Her father, a young man from Nanchang (南昌), Jiangxi Province (江西省), met her mother from Changsha (長沙), Hunan Province (湖南省); they fell in love with each other at college. After her birth, Mrs Pan was sent to Changsha and brought up by her grandparents. Due to the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1938, Mrs Pan moved to Tongren (銅仁), Guizhou Province (貴州省), with her mother, who was assigned to teach in a high school there. Her younger brother was born in 1940, but she lost her mother through illness in 1943. After her mother passed away, her father took Mrs Pan and her younger brothers to Jian (吉安) in Jiangxi, where her father worked as a soya sauce maker. Unfortunately, Mrs Pan's father was robbed by Eighth Route Army (八路軍, Balujun) and drowned when he and his colleagues moved the soya sauce factory facilities from Jian to Nanchang via water transport in 1945.⁸⁰ In fear of a presumably arranged marriage by her uncle, Mrs Pan met Mr Pan and soon

⁸⁰ The Eighth Route Army was the larger of the two major Chinese communist forces that formed a unit of the National Revolutionary Army of the ROC which fought the Japanese from 1937 to 1945.

became engaged to him, a serviceman of the Air Force Engineering Wing, in 1946. After this, Mrs Pan began her migrant journey with the troops: Nanjing (南京), Hangzhou (杭州) where her first son was born, and Shanghai (上海) in China, and then moved to Taiwan, staying in cities such as Kaohsiung (高雄) and Taipei (臺北), where her first daughter and fourth son were born, Tainan (臺南) where her second daughter was born, Chiayi (嘉義) where her second son was born, Taoyuan (桃園) where her third son was born, and finally Hsinchu where her third daughter was born (Figure 40). 'Wow, I didn't realize until now that I've lived in so many places in Taiwan,' Mrs Pan remarked (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

While Mrs Pan's itinerary map is extensive and full of twists and turns, Mrs Tsai's route in life is no less perilous, but in a comparatively confined geographic area. Mrs Tsai's family history originated in Taiwan. Born in Neipu (內埔) in Pingtung County (屏東縣), Taiwan, in 1935, Mrs Tsai is a Hakka.⁸¹ Her father died before she was ten, leaving her with sixteen brothers and sisters. Due to a difficult life, she was then adopted as a teenage worker for six years. She managed to escape from the foster family when she was seventeen after overhearing a plan of selling her to a brothel. Through a matchmaker she met and married Mr Tsai, a serviceman of the Air Force Engineering Wing, in 1954. After marriage, Mrs Tsai moved to Taoyuan for half a year and has lived in Hsinchu (where her five children were born) ever since (Figure 41). After her husband's death in 2002, she moved to her first daughter's place in San Diego, California, for five years before returning to LN Village. For her, the village is the place she calls home. Mrs Tsai sighed over her worries:

⁸¹ In Taiwan, Hakka people make up about 15 to 20 per cent of the population and are descended largely from Guangdong immigrants: they form the second-largest ethnic group on the island.

'How could I live my life if I move to public housing which is commercially categorised into small, medium, and large units? After moving into the new place, we won't be neighbours as we used to be because we will be randomly allotted to separate apartment units. Here in LN Village we are crew on the same ship. We should always stay together' (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009).

After reviewing LN villagers' life history, two contrasting types of their current circumstances are considered below. The first is Mrs Guo's story of melancholy. Born in Kunming (昆明), China, in 1935, Mrs Guo was brought to Taiwan by her adopted sister and brother-in-law in 1952. She and her husband, together with three children, moved into LN Village in 1954 but did not find it a pleasant home. Mrs Guo said:

'I was reluctant to move here because I got along with the Hoklo in Taoyuan. My neighbours were civilians and they treated us nicely; they shared food with us and gave us gifts. I could even speak Hoklo at that time!' (Mrs. Guo, interview, 14 July, 2010)

Her first three children were born respectively in Tainan, Chiayi and Taoyuan in Taiwan, following changing bases where her husband was stationed. She gave birth to her final two children in Hsinchu. As an elderly illiterate, Mrs Guo has suffered from limited access to information and resources until now. I sometimes help read electricity bills or letters for her. After her husband experienced two strokes a few years ago, Mrs Guo, by now in her seventies, encountered more difficult challenges, such as taking care of him by herself. None of her children live in the neighbourhood. Her only son is now a citizen in Dallas, Texas, while two of her daughters, the eldest and the youngest, passed away in 1985 and 2008. The other two daughters settled in Taipei. Mrs Guo's burden has been partially relieved since May 2010, thanks to the help of an Indonesian care worker who can look after her husband. However, she feels quite disconsolate at the difficulty in communicating with her half-Japanese grandson in Tokyo who just lost his mother, and therefore contact with his maternal grandparents. Mrs

Guo's account not only tells of the struggles of a migrant, but also reveals that some of LN villagers face similar sad plights.

The other is Mrs Qian's story of contentment. Born in Dahu (大湖), Miaoli county (苗栗縣), Taiwan, in 1937, Mrs Qian is a Hakka from Guansi (關西), Hsinchu. Her first marriage with a Hakka husband ended in divorce, but with three children. She met Mr Qian, a widowed serviceman with two sons, through Mrs Bian at the Christmas bulb factory in the 1970s. After marrying Mr Qian, Mrs Qian and her own children moved into LN Village in 1981; together they made a happy Hakka-*Waishengren* blended family of seven members until 2008, when Mr Qian died. Mrs Qian now shares the house with her sister. She speaks not only her mother tongue Hakka, but also Mandarin, having learned the language at evening school, and Hoklo, which she has picked up from relatives by affinity, and from food market vendors and retailers. After living in LN Village for 20 years, she and her children have gradually taken on a *Waishengren* accent. Multiple identities seem to be in full effect in her family: among her four daughters-in-law, two are *Waishengren*, one Hoklo, and one Hakka. 'I speak Hoklo Taiwanese to the Hoklo, Hakka to the Hakka people, *Waishengren* Mandarin to *Waishengren*, and even Japanese to Japanese. That's what I do,' Mrs Qian smiled with a shrug (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010). It seemed that Mrs Qian has managed to take the world as it is and lead a relatively content life.

There is further migration. LN Village may be the final destination of a long journey for most first-generation *Waishengren*, but not for the second generation. Many sons and daughters of LN Village managed to continue their journey to China, Japan, and the U.S., some testimonies of which are listed below.

My husband's widowed brother remarried in Anhui province in mainland China after retirement; with his retirement pension around ten thousand NT dollars (200 pounds) per month, he started his second life and family there (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009).

My younger brother got married ten years after his retirement from the army and then emigrated to the U.S. He started his second career as a dishwasher, a chopper and then a chef; years later he retired from being the owner of a Chinese restaurant in Texas (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

After marrying Mrs Pan's younger brother, my eldest daughter in the U.S. sends me her regards every week via phone by asking me how is my life in Taiwan. I always reply with complaints that she doesn't visit me more often. Her two sons are now married and settled in the U.S. (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009).

My only son emigrated to Dallas, Texas, and my youngest daughter married and died in Japan (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010).

My daughter's husband retired from the Air Force and became a civil aviation pilot in Sichuan (四川) province in China; my grandson studies in an elementary school in Los Angeles (Mrs Lu, personal communication, 29 September, 2009).

Taiwan, as both a receiver of immigrants from the Chinese mainland and a sender of emigrants abroad, 'has played a special role in the Chinese diaspora', and 'has been an outlier of the Chinese polity' (Williams 2003: 163), which is, in Chapter 6, analysed and argued to be key to 'homelands reinvented.' The further migration illustrated here corresponds to the fact that the transformation of the neighbourhood is an ongoing process, which includes the wretched collapse of the village after its establishment sixty years ago.

Figures

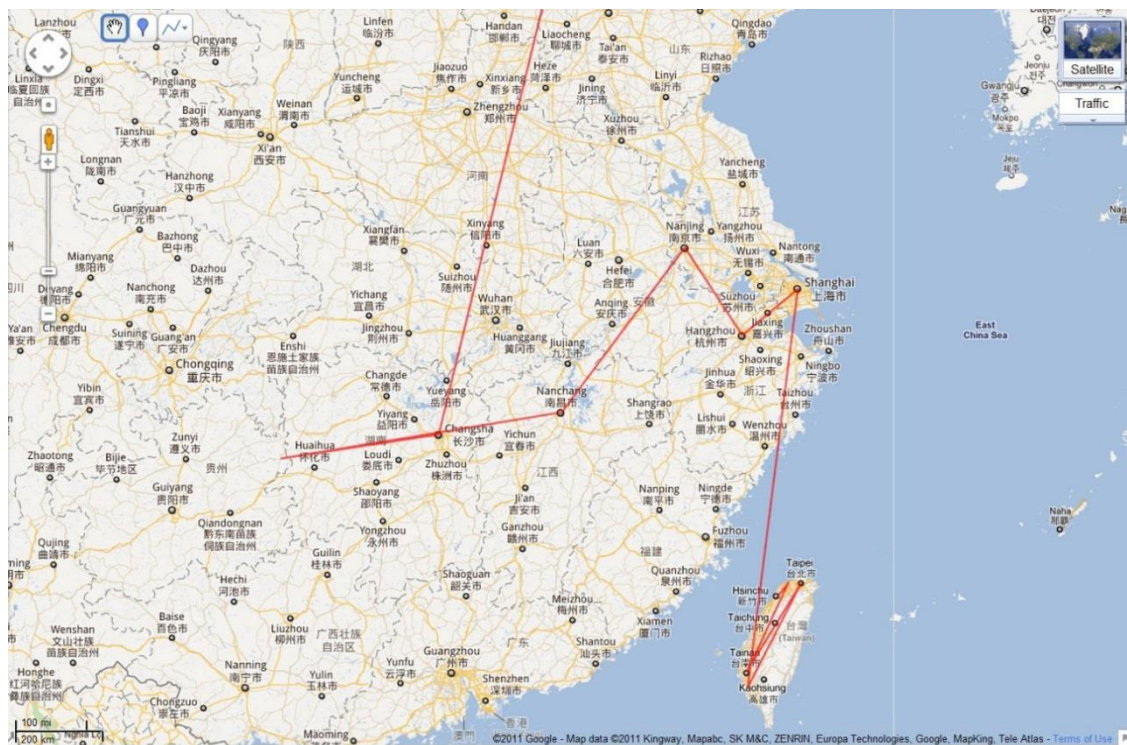


Figure 40: Mrs Pan's biographical route from mainland China to Taiwan

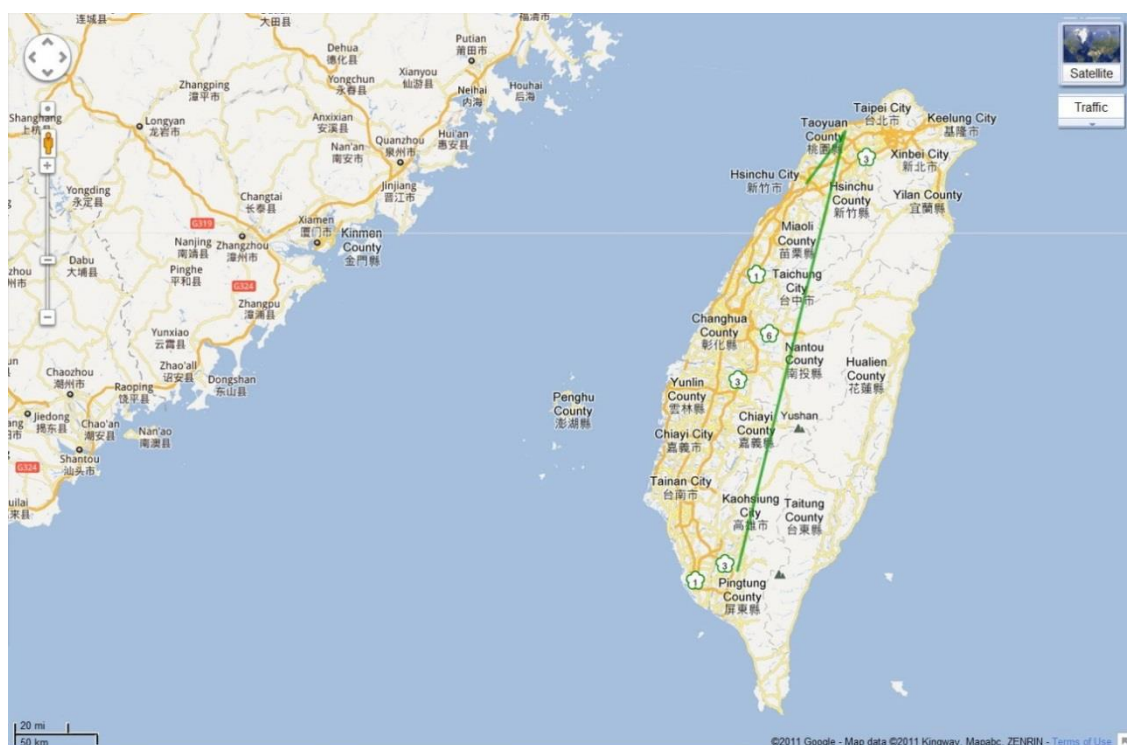


Figure 41: Mrs Tsai's biographical route from southern Taiwan to northern Taiwan

3.3.3 The collapse of the village

As we have seen in previous subsections, there are both routes and roots embodied in LN Village. In the face of the impending eviction, insiders' voices, what I call 'the reluctant obedience,' are heard in this subsection. According to the only village historian, Mr Li, though most of LN villagers came from provinces across China with disparate backgrounds, the war which tore them away from their native place took them on the same journey. After a prolonged period of time taking refuge on the island of Taiwan, away from the political calamity in mainland China, certain kinds of consensus, values, ways of living and similar life cycles were formed among the villagers, which made LN Village a self-sustaining community, or even ethnic group, with high cohesion. Moreover, with few relatives and limited numbers of extended family nearby in Taiwan, many LN villagers developed close bonds with neighbours (Li 2006). However, the relatively long-term self-contained *juancun* were gradually incorporated into Hsinchu City as civilians moved into vacated houses and second-generation villagers reached the outside world. Changes are clear and evident in LN villagers' observations.

It was safe years ago; no one stole anything from others. A former tenant stole my neighbour's pc by entering his landlady's house with a copied key. It is now really sad that we cannot even tell someone is moving or stealing, because we no longer know each villager here (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009).

Before expanding houses by building into front and back yards, lanes were wide enough for us to hold birthday feasts with round dining tables in them; neighbours gathered and shared the joy. That was much more fun! Unfortunately, with narrower lanes and friends moving out, nowadays we celebrate birthdays in the restaurant rather than in the village (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

We used to celebrate the former president Chiang Kai-Shek's birthday and hold a public memorial ceremony for him at the community centre every year in the past; these customs gradually die out with decreasing

number of first-generation villagers (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September, 2009).

In the past there was much bustling during every Chinese New Year Festival; neighbours paid us courtesy calls very early on the morning of the Chinese New Year's Day. Since these veterans passing away, the Chinese New Year Festival has never been the same (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

During the interviews, Mrs Jia and Mrs Guo, both in their seventies, lamented that houses were once too small to accommodate growing family members but now they seem too spacious, with only the elderly living in (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009; Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010). The community began by sharing the harshest of prospects and later enjoyed good olden times, but its destiny has changed due to class mobility and the gaps between generations. Intense bonds arose from displacement. Although people cared strongly about one another during times of difficulty, invariable cohesion was not guaranteed.

LN Village was faced with an impending relocation plan scheduled to be completed in 2015. The 'Reconstruction of Old Military Dependent Quarters' project is typical of slum-redevelopment projects taking place in modern cities. The inhabitants of the veteran neighbourhood are moved into high-rise apartment buildings with modern plumbing, sewage and electricity. They are given title deeds to these living units with a small but unaffordable mortgage which requires payment, while their homes are demolished to make way for real estate developers. In the public housing project, the home has become merely a well-calculated product for sale. If order means 'lack of contact' (Sennett 1994: 21), new living quarters comprised of different units jammed into high-rise buildings all lack the fundamental principles for distinguishing and classifying the values of intimacy and relationship between villagers. Some villagers expressed their emotional attachment to LN Village and concern about leaving.

My children asked me to leave all the shabby things inside the old house and buy new ones after moving into the new public housing. I

told them I will bring every item I like there (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

I have spent tens of thousand dollars in continuously fixing this house. The total amount of the cost is higher than buying a new house outside the village (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010).

I don't want to move out. I think we are doing quite well here. I like my neighbours and the life we share (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

In my deepest heart, I don't want to move out. Here we get to meet everyone every day, but it won't be possible in the high-rise housing. The relocation will separate us from one another (Mr Ma, interview, 14 July, 2010).

I once moved to the house next to my brother's and sister's in Taoyuan for a few months; it was a considerate gift from my children, and it cost them much effort and money. After returning to this house in LN Village for the Chinese New Year, I felt like staying here. Though it is more difficult for me to move around this house with the high gradient of the slope step, which is very unsuitable for a disabled woman like me [see Subsection 4.1.10], I prefer living here and having regular contact with neighbours (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

However, there are different degrees of reluctance towards leaving LN Village between the first and the second generations. For example, the first-generation Mrs Qian and Mrs Fang described their similar reluctant obedience, that they can do nothing about the relocation project, and have to move out to the new building in order to have a place to live (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010; Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). The second generation seem to take it with slightly more acceptance and self-persuasion.

Since I was a kid, I have been living here for my whole life. But it may be good to live in a new building. Look at this dilapidated house! I am willing to move out in order to make the city better. We are sad, but not so sad about it. I have tried to write down the stories of these villagers so that in the future people may know there was once such a community. Some media, including the Taiwan Public Television Service (PTS), have already recorded and broadcast programs about the village. All juancun in Hsinchu City will be gone in the coming years though (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

This village will disappear and dissolve into the new public housing with villagers from other juancun in Hsinchu City. Perhaps the first generation feel sad about leaving and are more reluctant than the second generation are. But they have to get used to it because we are lucky enough to be the last relocation project in the city. We are okay with the relocation (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September, 2009; 10 December, 2009).

It may appear that many residents have accepted parting with the place, but in Chapters 4 and 5 we will see how they cry with love for the village whose corners are haunted, if not inhabited, with images. While many diaspora communities demonstrate against their planned eviction (Evers and Kooy 2011; Reddy 2015; Subba and Sinha 2015), this reluctant obedience, is one of the most intriguing finds in this research, and it is further discussed in Chapter 6 when explaining how the homeland of the Chinese diaspora is reinvented.

In this chapter, terrains around LN Village, its territories, and itinerant routes of its villagers, are composed both of what lies before their eyes and what lies within their heads. After living in *Chituqi* for more than half a century, many LN villagers have rooted their family in the neighbourhood and developed local social networks. Everyday life waters their belonging while personal memory nourishes bonding. Itinerant history of *Juancun Waishengren* in LN Village provides extended identities across the Taiwan Strait but not necessarily conflicting

identities against each other. More explanations will be further explored in the form of material culture by examining houses, interior embellishment and gardens in Chapters 4, and 5.

Chapter 4 Growing Material Culture in LN Village

That people could come into the world in a place they could not at first even name and had never known before; and that out of a nameless and unknown place they could grow and move around in it until its name they knew and called with love, and call it HOME, and put roots there and love others there; so that whenever they left this place they would sing homesick songs about it and write poems of yearning for it, like a lover; remembering the grouping of old trees, the fall of slopes and hills, the lay of fields and the running of rivers; of animals there, and of objects lived with; of faces, and names, all of love and belonging, and forever be returning to it or leaving it again! (Goyen 1999: 40-41)

Visitors to the *juancun* experience a very different impression after entering the houses because material culture within the home appears as both 'dwellers' appropriation of the larger world and the representation of that world within their private domain' (Miller 2001: 1). To see the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan in miniature, one needs only a visit to their living space: the village pavilion that veteran husbands hang around, corners in which elderly wives chat and participate in various community activities, mostly-empty houses due to younger generations moving out, and the temporarily-crowded home at Chinese New Year's Eve, when children and grandchildren return for a family reunion every year. It can be clearly seen that, throughout LN villagers' lives, whether they are conscious of it or not, their homes and contents are potent statements about who they were, who they are, and probably who they will be: The house's situation in the world is concretely a variation of the metaphysically summarized situation of the human in the world (Bachelard 1994: 27-28). Since seeing houses 'in the round' enables us to focus on the links between their architectural, social and symbolic significance (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 2), in Chapter 4, I attempt to move towards a more holistic anthropology of architecture, which takes its place alongside the anthropology of the body by investigating LN Village through houses and their interiors to various ways of living practices based on them, in order to reveal how

material culture grows inside the buildings in a Chinese diasporic community with a military background.

4.1 Planting Homes: the 10 Houses

A home fulfils many needs: a place of self-expression, a vessel of memories, a refuge from the outside world, a cocoon where we can feel nurtured and let down our guard. (Marcus 2006: 2)

Many homes in LN Village were once wattle-and-daub shacks, perched amid a lake of similar houses jammed closely across a five-hundred-metre expanse; they were separated by narrow alleyways of mud and slurry, a labyrinthine cluster of high population density built on hillocks of *Chituqi*. Reflecting on how they lived in the houses that were occupied and maintained by evolving families in the generation after taking shelter in Hsinchu City, LN villagers build up a multi-voice microhistory of a way of life that ended in the early 2000s. Uprooted from hometowns, dispersed in China and joined together in Taiwan, these family-like neighbours constantly refer to the architecture of the home and its objects within, which structure their memories and identities; in miniature, it is a domestic history of the quartered Chinese diaspora in Taiwan (*Juancun Waishengren*) living during the formation of the *de facto* Taiwan state. Reviewing the house into which an uprooted culture transplanted and developed involves reinventing history and growing symbolic roots into a vanishing human and geographical world.

In the 13-month fieldwork between 2009 and 2010, I formally interviewed 56 people in 40 domiciles, among which 10 were carefully measured and recorded in architectural floor plans (See Appendices 2 and 3). Some their stories have been told in tandem with specific topics in previous chapters. The 40 houses under investigation are located throughout the village, but the detailed 10, to which I was granted almost full access, are concentrated around where I stayed at Bian's house. These domiciles in the village, or *juancun* houses, had humble beginnings but have been thriving like plants from seeding to blooming, and further to shrivelling. They were once shelters from the subtropical storm, dwellings of limited privacy, places of creativity and flexibility, buildings of

painstaking efforts, and nests of memory. These days, the *juancun* houses are spaces of loss due to partners passing away, children leaving home, fading of former youth and the loss of the old, good days, although they can also be mirrors of self, and a land of reverie, which is elaborated in details in Chapter 6.

4.1.1 Some common characteristics

There are common characteristics in these *juancun* houses: the material, the weather, the limited privacy, flexibility, the builder, and the house as a safety net. There are also two crucial factors govern the design of houses in LN Village: the importance of the connection with neighbours, or the bodily relationship within the community, and the concept of the site as a movable and permeable terrain of shelter and gregariousness, continuous with its unique diaspora history, as opposed to being engulfed in the urban sprawl and host society. They all are discussed accordingly in the following paragraphs.

First things first, the material. *Juancun* houses, consisted mostly of a single storey, were made of bamboo, earth, lime and small red roof tiles (**Error! Reference source not found.**). In these small houses without toilets and kitchens, there were no other partitions such as living rooms and dining areas except for bedrooms,. Housewives cooked with briquettes in early times and with kerosene stoves years later in the front yard or under the eaves on rainy days; the village was then often covered with choking smoke because damp briquettes took a long time to light. The initial terraced houses were equipped with only one tap and one electricity meter between every ten houses, which remained unchanged for a long time.⁸² The joined families were also linked by the same beams under one wide roof. In the loft, the mice scurried from one end to another and woke up babies and children at night times. 'For those who never dwelled in a place like

⁸² Families didn't own individual taps or electricity meters until serious disputes occurred over sharing the expense of water and electricity.

this, it may be difficult to imagine that the running mice sound like a powerful army at night,' said Mr Li, a second-generation villager. In the 1970s, the household living condition was improved because most second-generation villagers graduated from school and began to work, while there was an increase in military salaries. Once a family saved enough money, they would build rooms in the newly walled yard or add a second and third story. Private space increased at the expense of narrower lanes and shrinking public space (Figure 42) (Li 2006). Most *Juancun* houses are now made of brick, cement and larger black roof tiles. However, on a subtropical island, houses are constantly refurnished and remodelled by the villagers in order to stand against gales, rain and regular typhoons in summer and autumn.

Following the discussion on the material, the weather comes to the fore. It is the house that thrusts aside contingencies, and without it, men and women would be 'dispersed beings' (Bachelard 1994: 7).

In Hsinchu, dubbed 'the city of wind', juancun houses of bamboo wattle and daub could swing with the gale. It was common that during a downpour outside the house leaked inside and people found themselves surrounded by wet pillows, drenched quilts, and washbowls for holding water, while autumn typhoons used to rip off the roof and sometimes even destroyed the building,⁸³ forcing the residents to take shelter somewhere else' (Li 2006).⁸⁴

'I remember it was dark when the typhoon struck at night. My children huddled together and I took them to the dry corners with no rain leaks. We didn't know that

⁸³ For example, Typhoon Pamela on 12 September, 1961, and Typhoon Gloria on 9 September, 1963 (with wind speeds of 42.7 meter per second and precipitation 132.9 millimetres) destroyed almost all wattle and daub *juancun* houses. It was not until then that bottom-half-brick and upper-half-bamboo houses were built (Li 2006).

⁸⁴ Shelters could be larger buildings nearby such as classrooms of JG Elementary School and National Tsing Hua University, and the large dugout near Taiwan Fertilizer Co., Ltd.

the roof was gone until the next morning,' Mrs Pan recalled, 'It was then the government began to reconstruct the roof with the waterproof layer (the white greaseproof paper)' (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). Some villagers had to rebuild their homes after typhoons. 'Our house collapsed in 1961 because of the typhoon, we took the 4000 NT dollar relief from the government, and our 8000 dollar savings to construct this new building', said Mrs Chen (Interview, 19 March, 2010). The *juancun* houses, fully or partially, maintain LN villagers through the storms of the heavens and those of life.⁸⁵

Through the years LN villagers gradually gathered closer, not just because of the fact that they were prevented from scattering over the village boundary, but also that the *juancun* houses provided limited privacy due to the nature of building materials. The layers of walls were split-bamboo wattle, earth and newspaper. Adjacent households could overhear neighbours' daily conversation and literally see each other through walls after storms (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). Families such as the Guos and the Fangs who first found their homes in 'the Big Building' (*Da Fang Zi*, 大房子), a Japanese factory building (Figure 43). They once created household boundaries by hanging canvas to partition off their living space in the spacious interior under one wide roof, and everyone heard everyone else. If we see silence in the residential community as protection of individual privacy, it could be said that there was very limited privacy back then in LN Village.

As we will see in the case studies later in this section, flexibility and concessions are seen almost everywhere in LN Village, from the home location to house re-modelling. For instance, the home of Mr and Mrs Lu stands on the previous site of a public toilet built by the Japanese, which many didn't consider a good location

⁸⁵ By contrast, it can be argued that nowadays there is a lack of houses, because the inhabitants of the big city living in superimposed boxes are no longer aware of the storms of the outside universe (Bachelard 1994: 26-27).

(Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010).⁸⁶ Mrs Zheng and Mrs Pan exchanged their randomly allocated domiciles, allocating Mrs Zheng the end unit and enabling them to add an annex to cater for the growing number of her family, while Mrs Pan's two formerly separate houses became adjoined, keeping her larger family together (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). Partly because all land ownership is held by the government rather than individual families, the boundary between domiciles is relatively negotiable and movable. Mutual understanding is visible between households of LN Village. 'In the past, our home was only half of what you see today; I got the left half on the ground from Mrs Fang,' explained Mrs Chou, who lives next to Mrs Fang under one overhanging roof (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). Mrs Qian, whose house is around the corner near the village car park, even rebuilt her front yard wall from a perpendicular line into a curve in 1987, in order to broaden the bottleneck for vehicles coming to the car park in front of her home (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).

For LN villagers, walls are not only changeable but sometimes penetrable. It seems that creativity and possibility came from the harsh environment, which forced them to make do with whatever they were given. 'When we first arrived here at the Big Building, we occupied the south-east corner as our home. But there was no opening in the wall, so we had to knock down part of it and made a door and two windows out of the south wall,' Mr Fang Jr gesticulated. Years later, the Fang family created a passage through the east wall to the adjacent shed they bought from the neighbours who decided to move out (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010). Surprising creativity is also found in the cases of Mrs Pan and her generation. For instance, many terraced house dwellers added new annexes to the back; their common and wall-less front yard had once been a pleasant public space full of papaya plants before being privatized by each household with tall

⁸⁶ Today the living room of the Lu's family sits right on the former public toilet. They occupied it and rebuilt their home on it after most villagers had private flush toilets installed in their houses (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September, 2009).

brick enclosure, at the expense of a narrower lane at the front door. Soon the postern became more popular and was used as the new front door instead; the property orientation was thus turned 180 degrees simply by the way a resident lived (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). LN villagers are capable of adaptation because flexibility was the key to survival in years of post-WWII turmoil.

Flexibility requires immediate response. LN villagers were therefore DIY homemakers way before IKEA set up its first store in Taiwan in 1994. 'Installing, partitioning, and so forth, our home is pretty much made by ourselves,' said Mrs Fang, who lives in the Big Building (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). However, 'by ourselves' means more than DIY; it also implies 'renovation costs paid by ourselves.' After living conditions were improved in the 1970s, residents began to consult and hire professional builders for house remodelling. Two builders based within the neighbourhood – Chen, the Hakka builder from Pu-Ding (埔頂), and Lee, the Hoklo builder from Guan-Dong-Qiao (關東橋) – were particularly popular because of villagers' limited contact with the outside world, and of a result of word of mouth.⁸⁷ 'Because of the increasing number of family members, we had occupied the vacant land near our domicile and weeded to prepare it for this latest construction by Chen the builder,' Mrs Zheng continued. 'He and his workers completed the contract projects of the Lu Family, another neighbour and us.' Works of Chen the builder included many such as Mrs Qian's house, which was the former office and home of the late village head, her husband Mr Qian. Years later, the daughter of Chen the builder was married to the youngest son of the Ho family in the village (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009; Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). *Juancun* houses are not only architecturally connected to one another because of the same builders, but are also mutually related by the facts such as Chen the builder becoming affined family following these contract projects.

⁸⁷ For example, Mrs Chen's house was completed by Lee the builder.

Last but not least, I will discuss about the house as a safety net, or even a way of living. Those building projects mentioned earlier were originally commenced to accommodate the growing number of residents in the 1970s and 1980s, and are now half-empty domiciles due to the second generation moving out to start their own families. However, some of them keep regular visit to their *juancun* houses in various ways. Mrs Bian's youngest son, a middle-aged drillmaster, goes to his childhood house almost every day, where his mother and nephew currently live, and a tenant anthropologist once stayed. After work, he comes home with take-away dinner, watches television, and takes a shower before leaving for his own apartment miles away to sleep in the late evening. His daughter, Mrs Bian's granddaughter, frequents this place after school too, and then returns home with her father. The married eldest son of the Tsai family, a school bus driver, lives with his mother in his childhood house. He returns to this place and brings his mother take-away lunch every noon after morning work. An hour or two later, he goes back to work in the afternoon. 'I have a filial son,' Mrs Tsai smiled. The family houses here are used as a sitting room or a 'service area', where the second generation can take some rest and refresh themselves before or after work.

Other cases show that *juancun* houses are functioning as an unemployment-insurance buffer or hostels. The youngest son of the Jia family encountered great difficulties in life and moved with his own family back to his mother's home; the son of the Zhao family spends a few nights at his mother's home every few months. For most people, the need to return to their environmental roots seems especially pressing in the second half of life, 'as old age appears on the horizon' (Marcus 2006: 35). But for middle-aged second-generation diaspora Chinese, visiting their childhood houses is more than a need; it is a way of living. At night, most rooms of the *juancun* houses may be unoccupied, but the attachments of those who grew up in the village fill the empty refuges. Not only people but also their things linger around homes. The stored possessions of the second generation flow out from *juancun* houses to them when they acquire new apartments or have children of their own. Then years later their unwanted furniture or paintings which they are reluctant to fully give up flow back into their childhood home when

they buy new items. This is manifest in many of the following 10 houses, especially in those of the Jia (Subsection 4.1.3), Chou (Subsection 4.1.6), and Guo (Subsection 4.1.8) families.

A few attributes, from materiality to functionality commonly shared by the *juancun* houses, are briefly summarized above in this section. Houses as artefacts are more than congealed labour; they are condensed networks. The discussion about the 10 houses is laid out in the following paragraphs,⁸⁸ and it starts with the Bian's house, where I stayed for over a year during my fieldwork.

Figures



Figure 42: Narrow lanes between houses (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

⁸⁸ For detailed description of the 10 house, see Appendix 2 The 10 Houses: Material Biographies of Loyalty New Village.



Figure 43: The Big Building and its wide roof (see Appendix 2)



Figure 44: Houses under one wide roof in the Big Building (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.1.2 The Hub House: The Bian house (cf. p. 365)

It could be seen as the head-quarters. The Bian house is one of the first two-storey buildings built in *Chituqi* and was, from the very start, used as an office for running the Japanese Fuel Plant with an oil refinement factory nearby, which was later dubbed the Big Building and will be discussed in more detail later alongside the Guo house (Subsection 4.1.8). The Bian house, well-constructed by the Japanese during WWII, is distinct from those built by those villagers humbly starting out in the community. 'Pillars of this house are made of reinforced concrete with a metal core,' Mrs Bian proudly told me, 'It's a solid and sound house.'

'The office building was occupied by the Bian Family long ago,' Mrs Pan said. 'Ex-Captain Chen once lived on its first floor,' Mrs Fang recalled (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009; Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). The buildings are often portrayed as relatively fixed and permanent (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 37), but this 'office building' shows us its potential dynamics. It accommodates two ex-captains' families (the Chens and the Bians). Their homes inlay into each other like two stacking L-shape tetrominos: Two thirds of the ground floor were used by the Bian family while two thirds of the first floor belonged to the Chen family (see Figure 45 and Appendix 2). The legacy of leadership seems to continue in the neighbourhood. The home (and office) of Mr Fang Jr, the borough chief, is only 40 steps (24 meters) away from it, and Councillor Shuying Chung, who is Mrs Bian's daughter-in-law, lives with her husband opposite to the Bian house.⁸⁹

The Bian House is the hub, but not without its inertia. Villagers very often gather around this place to make complaints, appeal for help, and exchange information and ideas. The outer door of the Bian house is always open when Mrs Bian is

⁸⁹ She began her political career after marriage and was inspired by Captain Bian.

awake and at home, so friends and neighbours can freely enter the property to greet Mrs Bian at the inner courtyard or use the toilet near the door (Figure 46). Living in the hub of tidings, Mrs Bian knows much about what is going on in the village and in the world. Information and emotional conversation constitute the core of Mrs Bian's life. 'This is a house with good ventilation,' Mrs Bian repeated to me during my stay in one of many rooms of the building which has many large windows and an inner courtyard.

It had been a long time since Mrs Bian and her grandson were the only constant residents of this four-bedroom property, before A-Di, the migrant care worker from Indonesia who shared the same room with Mrs Bian, and I took residence in the house in 2010 and 2009 respectively.⁹⁰ The inner courtyard has a recycled sofa at its centre, where Mrs Bian usually meets her neighbours, and next to it is a living room where she formally welcomes her guests and watches TV (Figure 47). Articles of furniture and things are unobtrusively placed in quiet corners of the airy living room and blend well into the white wall behind; the setting of the room did not change at all during my stay and my revisits years later. It seems that the inertia of the house has gained increasing power. However, there are dynamics in the air. Mrs Bian watches news channels every morning and cares about almost everything happening nowadays. Mrs Bian's home is indeed a home in the present moment rather than in the past, but the roomy building does sometimes make its residents feel the void within.

⁹⁰ Mrs Bian's five children do not live with her and her husband passed away in the late 1980s.

Figures



Figure 45: The building of two households, the Bians and the Chens. The border is shown by the red line (see its architectural model in Appendix 2 for details)



Figure 46: The outer door of the Bian's house is always kept half-open as long as Mrs Bian is at home (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 47: The recycled sofa in the inner courtyard facing the entrance of the living room

4.1.3 The Catholic House: The Jia house (cf. p. 369)

In this house, I focus on two issues: 'the void' and 'trauma, stigma, and religious signs.' The feeling of loneliness is expressed by many interviewees, and Mrs Jia is no doubt one of them. Before her youngest son's family moved back to the first floor of the Jia house due to economic difficulty, she had lived with a migrant care worker from Vietnam for many years. '*Wailao* (the foreign labourer) and I share one double bed,' said Mrs Jia, 'we go to bed at the same time but she wakes up later than I do because her work doesn't start until noon' (Interview, 29 September, 2009). The real job of the nominal 'care worker' involves working as the employee of Mrs Jia's youngest daughter, who runs a diner two blocks away. Thus, in the daytime and most of the evening, Mrs Jia is alone at the two-storey home.

On first appearance, Mrs Jia's house seems to be a Catholic one. A wooden 'Jesus on a Cross' is hung high on the façade and two angel icons with the text 'God Bless' and 'Peace in the nation' are placed on the outer doors (Figure 48). The interior of the living room, decorated by Mrs Jia, contains large and small images. A painting at the living room entrance of a child on his knees praying and various images of Jesus are seen everywhere (Figure 49). However, there is also an altar dedicated to *Guanyin* (a Bodhisattva) and deceased ancestors of the Jia family. In fact, there are deities from both the West and the East in Mrs Jia's home; it is a Catholic house that embraces many 'bright spirits' (gods/goddesses) rather than one of monotheism.

Although this living room contains plenty of religious images, the more I talk to Mrs Jia, the more secular topics come to the centre of our discussion. Benevolent actions are mentioned many times. 'I visit the orphanage several times a year, and buy some of them new sneakers and clothes,' Mrs Jia was keen to tell me. 'I suffered a lot from mistreatment by my elder brother's wife when both of my parents died at my age of fourteen.' It is understandable that doing the work of charity soothes her early bereavement and alleviates her pain of growing up as an orphan, but there may be more behind it. Mrs Jia's eldest son, Mr RN Jia, once a superior marine, was the fifth leader of the infamous 'Four Seas Gang' (literally

meaning a gang of governance across the four oceans) between 2000 and 2008, and her grandson regrettably ended up in prison for committing rape.⁹¹ They both left a social stigma on the Jia family. Therefore the gifts to those in need may be more about Mrs Jia's atonement for her son's and grandson's acts than about honour to herself as the benefactor. Like many other Catholics, Mrs Jia hopes for eternal salvation, and by serving others she could purify the soul of her own and perhaps those of her offspring. The crucifix and multiple Jesus images may well strengthen this engagement. As a social institution, the house combines a series of opposing principles or social forms (Lévi-Strauss 1983), and in the Catholic house, this takes on a crucial significance because it 'reunites' these incompatible principles. More insights into the Jia house are raised in Subsection 4.2.2, concerning analysis of living rooms. The next house also raises issues about exchange, not of the afterlife, but of everyday life.

Figures



Figure 48: A wooden 'Jesus on Cross' is hung high on the façade of the Catholic House

⁹¹ Four Seas Gang , or Si Hai Bang (四海幫) in Mandarin, is a triad society based in Taiwan.



Figure 49: A painting of a child on his knees praying at the living room entrance

4.1.4 The Grocery House: The Wang house (cf. p. 372)

There are two practices in relation to each other in this house: 'facing outward' and 'forming a den.' Firstly, facing outward means that the grocery established in 1965 is located at the south-east border of the village. 'We were poor so my father decided to open the store with his 8000 NT dollar retirement pay when he was 50,' said Ms Wang, the adopted and only daughter of the late Mr Wang. 'We provided almost everything you need, including tea leaves' (Ms Wang and her husband, interview, 30 September, 2009). The Wang family has moved the location of the shop a few times since its beginning. The two-storey building is now situated on the former back yard and a former three feet lane. The grocery store is located on the ground level and the residential area is on the first floor. The privatized lane was turned into a grocery corridor in 1972, connecting front and

back doors.⁹² In the same year, the former front door opening towards the village inner lane became the back door and therefore the household shop faced outward towards Lane 51 of JG Road in order to solicit more customers, including the teenage pupils of the nearby high school. Most LN villagers still visit Wang's grocery through its back door and buy fresh chicken eggs or seasonings such as soya sauce (Mrs Chou, interview, 10 December, 2009).

Secondly, 'forming a den' is the response of grocery and its owner to 'facing outward.' The Wang's grocery is a 'household shop' where goods shelves, a cash desk, a few comfortable chairs, a small round dining table and a TV set come together in one place. It is also a nostalgia emporium, in which past and present time converges, collides, and collapses. National flags, Chinese traditional decorating knots, ornaments such as bottle gourds, lanterns, and calendars adorned with images of the Chinese New Year are hung high under the light gauge steel frame ceiling, while all interior walls, and even the exterior of the fridge, are covered with advertising posters and stickers of different ages (Figure 50). All, including old clocks and goods on high shelves are personal collections of Ms Wang's husband, Yen, an active member of the Hsinchu *Qingtian* Association (新竹市擎天協會, *xinzhushi qingtian xiehui*), which is a local culture and history studio striving to preserve *juancun* culture. Much of Yen's collection came from junk piles discarded by neighbours and those who moved out of military villages. So many things are crammed in this 42m square shop, such as wares for sale and articles saved from the dump, that the residents and the two dogs become the prominent instruments which prescribe the interior organic form of the house. These social agents, or 'indexes' in Alfred Gell's terms, are seen as outcomes,

⁹² The brothel run by local people, from whom most households shied away, was once located next to the Wang's grocery. Ms Wang has lived at the current address with her foster parents since the 1950s, when she was three. Originally the domicile was only 23 square meters, divided by only two partitions without any toilet, bathroom, and kitchen: one as a living room and the other as a bedroom. 'So we took a bath in the bathtub right beside the bed,' said Ms Wang, 'the hot water was heated in the 3-square-meter kitchen near the road' (Ms Wang, interview, 30 September, 2009).

and/or instruments of, social agency' (Gell 1998: 15), which is the attribution of intention to persons or things. It is by constantly collecting, depositing, walking to and fro, and pushing back things on all sides that through reviewing all the indexes and their implied relations the Wang family has succeeded in forming a security base when facing the outside world (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The grocery house is a work of one family, but the following case is a result of extended families working as one.

Figures



Figure 50: National flags, Chinese decorating knots, bottle gourds and lanterns are seen everywhere in the Grocery House (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.1.5 The Family House: The Zheng house (cf. p. 374)

This house is especially about 'the family' and its 'corporate effort', or about social relations. 'Family' is its theme. Most people in the village could only afford to build their own houses in stages; as money accumulates, one might add an annex for growing children, or complete the wall at the front. Building the home of

one's aspirations is often a life's work, and the house is always the primary mode by which life itself was marked as a progression' (Miller 2009: 77). The process of kinship and the process of the house's development are so thoroughly intertwined as to be one process (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 40). The Zheng house, like many others, was built in stages, but with much help from its extended families.

Mrs Zheng may be in her eighties, but is a lively extrovert. Though her beloved husband passed away years ago, she has stayed in the Zheng house mostly by herself ever since, and keeps up an active life in the village.⁹³ Four of her six children dwell in Taipei city, and the other two live in Hsinchu city as she does. However, she maintains regular contact with most of them. 'This is my eldest daughter, and next to her is her husband, and...', Mrs Zheng pointed out each of her 22 family members to me and told me about their present lives; a huge photograph of the whole family is hung high on the wall. 'My children paid the bill for this when my husband and I celebrated our 50th anniversary,' Mrs Zheng added, 'I have an honest and upright husband.' In the picture, the grey couple in wedding dress are smiling at the centre and are surrounded by their offspring (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009). While furniture and houses may act as unchanging objects that provide the security of the familiar in our lives, photographs remind us who we are in a way that invites comparison and highlights how we have changed (Belk 1990).

The Zheng house is the work of the corporate effort. 'The house has a four-square-style plan, and was built in the 1980s by Chen the Builder. We spent 400 thousand NT dollars for the ground floor and another 200 thousand for the first floor,' Mrs Zheng explained to me. 'However, many parts of the house were made possible by my family, such as the wall paid for by the first daughter-in-law, the kitchen by the daughter-in-law, and the doors and windows by my second

⁹³ During the year of my fieldwork, Mrs Zheng's grandson also stayed in a room in her house.

daughter.’ The Zheng house is a home of familial network. Mrs Zheng may live alone but is not lonely, probably because her children and their families are always present within the walls, the kitchen, and the doors and windows. In this house we see that worldly things are ‘always embedded in a complex network of relations between people and things’ (Thomas 2006: 46). Through accumulation of a family’s love and corporate work, the house becomes an index of indexes, in which agency works in a network of social relations. The next house is slightly different from the Zheng’s. While love is manifested in the Family House and its obvious material construction, love is treasured and preserved in the storage, and in a few fridges.

Figures



Figure 51 (left): Mrs Zheng and her huge family photo on the wall (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 52 (right): The cost of the wall was paid by Mrs Zheng’s first daughter-in-law

4.1.6 The Storage House: The Chou house (cf. p. 377)

The highlights of the Chou house are ‘living room as storage,’ ‘the wardrobe’ and ‘the fridges.’ As other inhabitants of Taiwan, LN villagers receive ordinary gifts

from time to time, and they find it difficult to throw away unused items, many of which end up in the interior of the home. But removing items is not an easy task, and 'amounts to sacrificing a part of oneself' (Marcoux 2001: 77). When entering Mrs Chou's home, I was amazed at what I first saw: plastic buckets filled with rainwater everywhere in the house. 'Water in storage is useful,' she said. Her house is partly located in the Big Building. One third of her house occupies the south-west corner of the former factory building from which the rest of it grew. 'This room, which is under the roof of the Big Building, formerly belonged to Mrs Fang's family, but they gave it to us. Other parts of the house were developed by us ourselves.' Mrs Chou showed me around the half-storage, half-living space, and surveyed her stored objects piece by piece (Figure 53). 'These clothes were sent to me by my cousin in mainland China. This empty box was picked up from the dump; those eight dishes were bought by me and are still new.' (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). Piles of cardboard boxes, a cupboard, and a wardrobe left little room for Mrs Chou to reach her possessions, and she wanted to move almost every usable object to the new apartment after the impending eviction. It seems to me that among them all, the timeworn wardrobe, in front of which Mrs Chou spent much time surveying her memories and murmuring to herself, has the deepest meanings.

As seen in Mrs Chou's case, obsessive collecting indicates suspiciousness toward other people (Zarit and Zarit, 2011:288). 'Some of my clothes in this wardrobe were stolen by my tenants living upstairs [some of them were illegal immigrants staying here due to cheap rent],' Mrs Chou complained to me. 'They took those fine ones when I was not home and left those of lower quality.' However, most of her neighbours don't believe it, and Mrs Chou herself doesn't really remember what is stored in the wardrobe. 'It's a good wardrobe, and I will bring it with me to the new place,' Mrs Chou repeated to me (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). If the inner space of an old wardrobe is deep, and its inner space is an intimate space (Bachelard 1994: 78), then Mrs Chou would definitely like to move with it. However, in the Chou house, there is something more intimate than

the wardrobe requiring further attention from researchers of home studies, these being the fridges.

After reviewing the Chou house's living room as storage and the wardrobe, it is time to think over the fridges. There are four fridges in total under the Chou's roof, two small fridges in the living room, and two tall ones in the kitchen (Figure 54). Mrs Chou's first fridge, a small, white one is still in use but unplugged. Next to it stands another undercounter fridge, which once belonged to one of Mrs Chou's previous tenants. 'Daily food bought from the local market and the supermarket are preserved in the blue tall fridge; what my eldest son buys for me, such as frozen steamed buns, are kept in the grey tall one,' Mrs Chou showed me how she made the most from these four appliances. Foods not used for everyday meals are stored in the two small fridges in the living room (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). Living in a large house alone, but packed with a variety of stuff, Mrs Chou makes more regular contact with various foods in the four fridges than her hoard in the storage-living room. Mrs Chou's life revolves around the kitchen with the tall grey fridge at its centre, where she makes daily food and stores most of the provisions brought by her eldest son who visits her every Sunday. While the hearth is the hub of a house in the temperate zone, the fridge is the core of the home in the subtropical island. There is a gradient of love in the Chou's house radiating from its refreshing heart, and the arrangement of the four fridges is obviously in accordance with it. Compared to the Storage House full of heterogeneous things, the next house is relatively homogeneous and equipped with love to be shared out rather than stored within.

Figures



Figure 53: Mrs Chou and the half-storage living space (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 54: Three out of the four fridges in the Storage House (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.1.7 The Flexible House: The Qian house (cf. p. 380)

There are three practices worth noting in this house: 'the shifting layout', 'the space sharing', and 'the open potted garden'. According to Mrs Qian, a Hakka who found her second marriage happier in the village of the Chinese diaspora, and formed a composite family with four children, two of her own and the other two of her second husband,:

'The original one-storey house is still part of the Big Building, but the two-storey annex of reinforced concrete built at the back of the old one in 1987 shifted the layout of our home. On the ground floor, the former backyard changed into the kitchen, the former bedroom into the living room, the former living room into my current bedroom, the former courtyard into the dining room, and the former kitchen into storage. Two bedrooms were added on the first floor. It cost 90 per cent of Mr Qian's retirement pay of 400 thousand NT dollars' (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).

The Qian's house is flexible in many ways, and the shifting of the layout is just one of them. In Subsection 4.1.1, we also see that the Qian family was kind enough to change the wall for vehicles entering the car park by sacrificing part of their front yard. They even gave away part of the east wing ground floor (about 5.5m square) to the Yu family next door who desperately needed one more room for their growing number of children decades ago.

The wall of the Qian house is surrounded by potted greens and climbing plants and the outer door is usually open. It creates a welcoming image which greets visiting family, friends and passers-by. 'But many of my potted plants, especially those with edible or colourful flowers, were stolen,' Mrs Qian complained and sighed, 'some people are plagued by avarice.' Though today Mrs Qian still suffers loss of plants by theft from time to time, she keeps growing these vegetables and flowers both in and outside the wall. 'My front yard is not big enough to accommodate all of them so more valued plants are placed within the wall, while vegetables and others are put by the wall outside,' she told me and gave me a wry

smile (Mrs Qian, interview, 7 January, 2012). Since growing food ‘gives a person a very tangible experience of control in the garden environment’ and over key aspects of his or her life (Jepson 2014), it seems to me that Mrs Qian somehow is willing to share her growing food in a passive way; she manages to accept the occasional loss of her plants while affording the time and care to grow more to cover it. It is worth noting that both Qian’s and Chou’s houses started under one wide roof of the Big Building: They have gradually extended new annexes from the original parts and their occupants have shifted their lives into the new wings. In contrast to the living space shift, the next house began as the former two houses, but remains under the shadow of the old building.

Figures



Figure 55: View from the roof: the curved wall of the Flexible House allowing vehicles to pass



Figure 56: Potted greens and climbing plants along the wall and the entrance of the house

4.1.8 The In-Building House: The Guo house (cf. p. 383)

In reviewing this house, discussions surround ‘the Big Building’ and its ‘body image’. The Big Building was filled with oil refinement facilities upon the arrival of the early LN villagers, the servicemen of Air Force Engineering Wing and their families.⁹⁴ It once accommodated more than a dozen families under its roof. There are now fewer than five households, the Guo family included, living in it. Over the past years, the Big Building has been partitioned into houses, first by canvas, then cane fibre-board, later three-ply veneer boards, and finally bricks; some added a few annexes attached to the outside wall of the Big Building when more money accumulated (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).⁹⁵

The Guo’s home is a dim but welcoming space, with one living room, one dining room and two bedrooms. There are family photos, calligraphy and ink paintings on the wall, an altar in the corner dedicated to ancestors and the earth deity *Tudigong* (土地公), a TV next to it, and a leg massager by the sofa in the living room. During my visit, Mr Guo was sitting, relaxed, with his feet and legs in the massager, while Mrs Guo and I were talking. Having suffered a stroke, he was severely limited in his ability to communicate, but still tried to greet me at his best with smiles and mumbles, before my leaving. Mr and Mrs Guo live with an Indonesia care worker. Mr Guo suffers with paralysis and heavily relies on the carer, while the illiterate Mrs Guo, in her seventies, regularly receives physical support from her neighbours because their children are not around. The Guo family

⁹⁴ These machines were first moved to an open ground nearby, where today’s General Welfare Service Ministry, Guang Fu Branch stands. They were later sold as scrap iron (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

⁹⁵ The Fang and the Song families were the first two households who settled in the Big Building, which was a former oil refinement factory. There was once a rail connection to the Big Building and a furnace nearby. The Fang family chose the corner near the factory entrance as their home, followed by a couple more families who occupied other corners. From canvas to brick walls, they used various materials as partitions between their households. (Fang 2000b).

greatly depends on its supporting network as the In-Building House is protected as a house within a larger one.

We tend to identify ourselves by and with the places in which we reside. Since a significant part of our personal identity depends on our exact bodily configuration, it is only to be expected that dwelling places will resemble our own material bodies in certain basic respects (Tilley 1994: 18). For more than 60 years, the Big Building dominating LN Village's skyline has provided protection for those who dwell under its wide-spanning (but leaky) roof and many others see it as the village landmark. The Big Building is arguably a symbol of many things, the parents and families in China who supported the army, which made survival in wars possible, and the KMT which provides continuing (but decreasing) resources. LN villagers often make indirect but intimate analogies between body and building, not in building shapes but in the way they live and talk about the village. They use their corporal understanding of the body to conceive the Big Building: a nurturing womb/shelter (to grow), a unique birthmark/feature of the village (to be different from the native Taiwanese), and a heart/place full of sweet childhood memories (to once again hear mothers calling their children home for dinner, as well as to play hide and seek). Far from being merely static material structures houses are dynamic entities; they have animate qualities and are endowed with spirits, and are imaged in terms of the human body (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 37). Built places are extensions of our bodies; as we feel more 'at home' in dwelling places due to increasingly intimate relationships with material structures, they become places created in our own bodily image (Casey 1993: 120).

Figures



Figure 57: Mr Guo on the foot massager with family photos, calligraphy and paintings on the wall



Figure 58: The wide roof of 'the Big Building' above the In-Building House

4.1.9 The Portal House: The Chang house (cf. p. 386)

This peculiar house is also full of things, or indexes in houses previously discussed, or 'portals' in this subsection, and its layout is as follows. The front door of the Chang house at the edge of LN Village used to face an inner lane as did that of its neighbouring grocery store (Subsection 4.1.4), but, similarly to the Flexible House (Subsection 4.1.7), the house shifted its layout years ago and

today faces outward to the road. Mr Chang, the village head, and his wife live in this two-storey house with a garage, a kitchen, and a toilet all located in the front yard. There are vertical rockeries in the front yard and a horizontal rockery garden on the rooftop, where Mr Chang has spent considerable time over the years. The significance of these rockeries will emerge in Chapter 5. A living room, a study and a single bedroom are on the ground floor, while the master bedroom and a second single bedroom are found upstairs. The house is mainly occupied by three classes of objects. The first consists of items such as figurines, porcelain vases and curios, which relate to oriental culture, the second, an abundance of calligraphy and ink paintings representing Chinese landscapes and the third, photographs of family and Nationalist Party leaders, such as former president Chiang Kai-shek, a previous political and military leader of 20th-century China. The long wall of the study is covered with scrolls of calligraphy paired with Mr Chang's family photos; his master bedroom, in particular, is a small gallery of classic Chinese visual art.

Home space is always enclosed yet exposed. The metaphor of the portal overcomes an idea of the home as a contained space. Houses are materially demarcated, but the spatial and temporal porosity of homes also open them to portals to the past and contemporary links elsewhere; the present is crossed by influences from the past and visions for the future. While aforementioned houses are lived in and used as places with fixed boundaries, the Portal House, the house of the village head is rather distinct from others in this respect. It is a house full of portals to spatial imageries. Since immensity is not out there but within ourselves and it is the movement of the motionless person (Bachelard 1994: 184, 103), an immersive sense of imagined China is yielded by Mr Chang's composite collection in his living room, and his pervasive collection of scrolls of calligraphy and painting echoes strongly with his front and roof gardens. Mr Chang admires China so much that he tries to situate his house in it by decorating white walls with Chinese landscape paintings. Thus, he, having made his living in Taiwan for more than 60 years, can imagine himself in a house of portals connecting and belonging to his homeland across the strait. Only poetry in all its forms makes

human existence meaningful, and meaning is the fundamental human need (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 23).

Figures



Figure 59: Ink paintings and photographs hung on the wall in the living room



Figure 60: The long wall of the study covered with calligraphy, paired with Mr Chang's family photos

4.1.10 The Vertical House: The Chen house (cf. p. 389)

There are two points worth noting in this house: 'the difference' and 'the aspiration'. The Chen house is different from those of diasporic Chinese in many ways. For instance, its layout is not shifted or reversed as its many neighbouring houses, and the original part of the home is still in regular use after the annex was added. 'This is a unique complex because it was not built in one stage; there were

processes that made the house what it is today: from a shack with an added front yard, remodelling, to annex added on top due to growing numbers of children' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). Today there is only one dweller in the Chen's house, Mrs Chen, a Hoklo married to Mr Chen, a low-rank *Waishengren* soldier. She started her adult life in a Chinese diaspora community at the age of 20, but her marriage turned sour soon in the 1960s due to her husband's gambling addiction, followed by troubling debt until his early death in the 1970s. After suffering years of being looked down upon by neighbours because of poverty, she devoted all efforts to her three daughters and the one son, in the hope of helping them achieve success and win recognition in society. The vision was not only inscribed in her children but also her house, which is intentionally built to be taller than those of her neighbours and is arguably imagined as a vertical being. It rises upward and differentiates itself in terms of its verticality because houses come into play as symbols of social groups, inscribing boundaries and hierarchies (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 21).

In addition, the house itself is a representation of various kinds of hierarchy and division (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 12). Chen's house is such a case. In contrast with the Portal House, there is no calligraphy or painting in the house and its interior is relatively blank. However, the three-storey building shows its aspiration and categorisation through height. 'When constructing the house, I asked the Hoklo builder Mr Lee to make ceilings 3.2 meters high, walls 10 centimetres thick, and as many windows as possible. I believe it would give us good ventilation and bring us fresh air' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). Under the high ceiling, the imposing staircase is something no visitor can miss after entering the living room of this home. Mrs Chen reserves the space of the second floor, the highest of the building, for the shrine (*Shen-ming-ting*, see Subsection 4.2.6), and the master bedroom for her beloved and proud only son.⁹⁶ On the first

⁹⁶ Mrs Chen's only son achieved success and won recognition; he was awarded a U.S. PhD degree and is now a professor of the university in Taipei city.

floor, she managed to maintain her terrace garden well before losing her left leg in a car accident a few years ago. Though she has been physically challenged, with the help of self-installed handrails Mrs Chen crawls all the way up to the altar on the second floor and prays to the ancestors and bright spirits, burning joss sticks several times a week, while the terrace garden is minimally maintained. When it comes to making this place home, Mrs Chen is strong willed, which is evidenced by her use of her own body: her arms, hands, thighs and legs (one of which is a prosthesis), are all used in the continuing alterations, and pressing and polishing of the interiors and floors of the house until they have become pliant and adapted to meet her current needs. The process of adaptation can leave traces behind, which we will also see in the next house.

Figures



Figure 61: Mrs Chen and the imposing staircase in the living room



Figure 62: The minimally maintained terrace garden on the first floor of the Vertical House

4.1.11 The Collectors' Houses: The Fang house (cf. p. 392)

The Fangs' home is featured with 'the earliest settlers' and 'the collection'. It is a complex of the east wing (the original house in the Big Building), the west wing (an annex bought from neighbours who moved out decades ago), and a shrine in the forecourt. It began in the east wing and gradually grew into a composite property with a camphor tree at its centre (which will be further discussed in Chapter 5). Nowadays, Mrs Fang and her grandson live in its east wing, while the west is the office and home of her son, Mr Fang Jr and his wife. Mr Fang Jr is the chief of JG Borough.

The Fangs were among those who first settled here and have witnessed the birth, growth, and collapse of LN Village. 'We've been living here since 1953 when my father was transferred from Kaohsiung to Hsinchu. I boast that only few villagers have resided longer in this place than I have,' Fang, the borough chief in his fifties, proudly said to me, 'I am probably the only person who is familiar with and gathers historical data of this place' (Mr Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010; Fang 2000b). Fang, the borough chief, is indeed a mine of information about the village. He published a booklet of the history of JG Borough in 2000, and was an enthusiast of seashells, peculiar stones and curios for a time. Fang was also once an amateur ballroom dancer and is currently a keen mountain hiker. 'You know, our hobbies change through time,' he explained. Though houses are continuously under construction (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 39), some traces can still be seen in Fangs' home.

A wide collection of seashells, mementoes, and global travel photos are displayed in the living room of the Fang's east wing. The seashell corner represents the youth and enthusiasm of Fang the borough chief, and the curio cabinet is the map to the memory lanes of many Fang family members. The wall of photos tells stories of Mrs Fang's holidays with family and friends in China, Japan, SE Asia, Australia and Europe. Things and their places matter by virtue of the time they were collected or produced. Objects of the past are often intentionally acquired and retained in order to remember pleasant or momentous times in one's past

(Belk 1990). They gain deepened authenticity of memory and marginalized attention at the same time. The majority of cherished objects do not relate the user to any larger system or to any other individual; they are valued because they produce an enjoyable sensation or interaction (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 243). By reading the collections in the Fang's house, an outline of the family development up to the present can be revealed; by winding up the music box or touching the spines of seashells, remembrances of the past are lively again. Therefore the interior of the house is never a result of random arrangement; it is a meticulous organisation practiced bit by bit in the humdrum activities of everyday existence. 'Ordinary everydayness' of human existence is actually constitutive of what Husserl would call 'intentionality' (Thomas 2006: 46).

Figures



Figure 63: The seashell corner in the Collector's House (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 64: The wall of photos of Mrs Fang's holidays with family and friends

4.1.12 Section Summary

Since we mortal humans are always finding ourselves embedded in cultural tradition, enmeshed in social relations with others, and engaged in pursuing projects for the future (Thomas 2006: 46), our social identities are embodied in our persons and objectified in our things through a dialectic of externalization and internalization in which persons actively appropriate things and create meaning (Tilley 2004: 218). From building materials and the weather, limited privacy and flexibility, to home as a mediator, the commonality of *juancun* houses is reviewed in the first part of this section, and then followed by a discourse of the ten homes: The hub, the Catholic, the grocery store, the family, the storage, the flexible, the in-building, the portal, the vertical and the collector's house. They are all representative of the material and social construction of LN Village and demonstrate the dissimilarity between selected domiciles. In creating a home, residents have different needs for privacy, for order, and for enclosure, and as lives progress, 'what people expect and need from their home may likewise change' (Marcus 2006: 124). Therefore, architectural processes are in various ways made to coincide with important events and processes in the lives of their occupants, and then are thought of in terms of them (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 39).

In the Hub House, we see the dissolution of the boundary between public and private life; the public/private dichotomy needs to be carefully examined. The Catholic House may be redemption of difficult truth, while the Grocery House becomes a curio cave. The Family House shows us how family corporate effort is imbedded in walls and windows. The Storage House keeps a large reserve of care and love in the wardrobe and fridges for lonely days, but the Flexible House grows its tender walls adorned with leaves and flowers at the expense of occasional loss. The In-Building House embodies a special relationship between the dwellers and their supporting network; meanwhile, the Big Building, itself once accommodating a dozen of households, is an epitome of the diasporic Chinese community.

The Portal House of the village head has become a hyperlinking home which, through calligraphy, painting, and rockeries, connects its residents, Mr and Mrs Chang, to mainland China by moving their minds rather than bodies while the Vertical House, formed and used by Mrs Chen's full but disabled body, actualizes her aspiration of escaping an unbearable past; her home is also modelled by sliding, skidding, and fine touches, 'which make a surface originally bristling and composite into one that is smooth and soft' (Bachelard 1994: 102). The Collectors' Houses garner memories through time from the very beginning of the village's humble birth to contemporary collections of growing roots in Taiwan, and through space from the old constructions left by the Japanese to the remodelling by local builders and themselves. Each of these houses has been grown as a tree which shelters its residents and grows with them. They are LN villagers' corner of the world and 'a real cosmos in every sense of the word' (Bachelard 1994: 4). The material culture within our homes appears as both our appropriation of the larger world, and as the representation of that world within our private domain (Miller 2001: 1). Therefore, the house is 'a small-scale cosmology symbolically restoring the integrity of a shattered geography' (Bahloul 1996: 28), which will be made manifest, while the universe of dwelling in LN Village is explored in detail in the following section.

4.2 Bifurcating Spaces: Rooms and the Objects within

While the building's exterior, a continuous and arresting surface, mattered in itself (Sennett 1994: 39), and the house as symbol of our place in society has been researched (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Victor 2002, 2013), the house interior and its contents have received much less attention (Marcus 2006: 9). Unlike modern housing with standardized floor plans, houses in the artefact jungle of LN Village are profusely branched shrubs. Each of them is seemingly similar but also unique and a contingent development. They are multiple sites for the inscription and negotiation of social relations, power and social dynamics (Tilley 2002: 28). Their subdivisions are leaves or leaflets that grow with time in the light of need and reverie, and the clutter of objects in the home objectifies a network of changing social relationships that constitute the family and the individuals within (Daniels 2001: 226). As Bachelard (1994: 136) put it, 'every corner in a house, every angle in a room, every inch of secluded space in which we like to hide, or withdraw into ourselves, is a symbol of solitude for the imagination; that is to say, it is the germ of a room, or of a house'.

Bearing the 10 houses portrayed in Section 4.1 in mind, I compare and contrast these twigs, or bifurcating spaces among LN villagers' homes, starting from doors, living rooms, toilets/bathrooms, kitchens, to storage and shrines in the following paragraphs. In order to further understand the largely unrecognized diasporic community, and of how they are conceived, the objects in houses are taken into account and discussed in detail because the movable objects in the home, rather than the physical fabric itself, are 'the symbols of self' (Marcus 2006: 8).

4.2.1 From opening to façades

First things first, the open front doors. The front doors of households along Lane 14, LN Village's main passage were often kept open. This was something that any urbanite from a world of closely-shut portals would not ignore. A door left ajar may or may not give access to visitors. It could be a sign of welcome but could also imply an entry in constant use and a house in control. During my first three months of residence in 2009 I felt that occupants behind the doors kept a wary

eye on strangers like me, but I became at ease later and was even attracted to house openings after becoming acquainted with more villagers. It shows us the duality of an open door and that the accessibility is truly based on its context rather than its appearance. An open door is not actually open until the heart of its owner is open to the visitor, since its openness is capable of driving uninvited guests away by suggesting an immediate appearance of the proprietor.

There are also the back doors and the past days. For most LN villagers, their homes grow in two stages. The old section was established and funded by the government, and the new one is developed by the inhabitants. As a result, two entrances are commonly seen in each house, one original and the other newly added. Many people gradually move their life to the new space and therefore the old part loses its former glory. For instance, the newer door of the Grocery House (Subsection 4.1.4) extension is seen as the current front entrance, while the old door is kept as a supplementary passage for more frequent customers, while Mr Chang, the village head, prefers the latest annex and turned the former front door into an emergency exit only.

The old door of the Grocery House is used by its oldest customers and most LN villagers have known the founder of the shop, Mr Wang, since its establishment. In fact, Mr Wang is enshrined in the storage room next to the old door. Frequenting the Grocery House via the old door is like passing Mr Wang's room repeatedly and remembering him via shopping there. 'He is a yes man, very kind to his friends and neighbours, but not to his family,' complains Ms Wang, his adopted daughter, who runs the store today. In contrast to those who keep the old doors in use, Mr Chang rarely uses his old door. Though he is a veteran of 'old China' (ROC), he fully embraced the identity of 'New China' (PRC) and proudly talks about the fast and furious development in China every time we meet. Mr Chang discussed most, if not only promising and progressing, news in China as though talking about local happenings in Taiwan. For Mr Chang, the door is a primal image, the very origin of a daydream that accumulates desires and temptations, and the temptation to open up the ultimate depths of being (Bachelard 1994: 222). These openings are therefore meaningful in many ways.

The door and window act as the presentation of the household, an attitude marker in the absence of any other sign.

When I was living in the Hub House (see 4.1.2), I always kept the wooden door and windows of my room open after waking up in the morning every day, as did many other villagers (but shut the hinged screen door to keep mosquitoes away).⁹⁷ These openings are like my eyes, wide open during daytime and closed at night. Anyone who wanted to contact me could shout outside the room or approach the screen door (Figure 67). Neighbours and visitors could easily see through the green screen and have a rough idea of what I was doing. The open door and windows became communication tools between others and me, and they showed that I was accessible and available most of the time.⁹⁸ During my several visits to LN Village over the past years (including the latest one in January 2012), Mrs Bian complained to me about the new tenant after I left, 'I don't like him because he closes the door and windows all the time (Mrs Bian, interview, 13 July, 2010).' In this case, it is clear that doors are more than building openings between the inside and the outside; they are also channels via which people communicate.

The spring couplet on the doorframe and the lintel, a specific form of material culture, is seen almost everywhere in *Juancun*. While the door can be seen as the origin of a daydream, the spring couplet framing it is the embodiment of wishes. It is more than a festive decoration for the lunar New Year; it reveals and strengthens the dreams of the household. A spring couplet is a pair of lines of

⁹⁷ In Taiwan, many rooms and houses are equipped with two doors, one wooden and the other a screen. People can see through the screen door but not the wooden one. The hinged screen door is used to keep mosquitoes and flies away while maintaining good ventilation.

⁹⁸ It is worth noting that, after months of residence, I gradually felt safe and secure when the door of my room was open. However, the fear of darkness and the environment continued even after all the openings were closed when I slept. The dread did not die out until the dawn, and it completely disappeared following my overhearing the first sentence of neighbours' gossip at the 'chat corner' (cf. Subsections 2.1.2 and 5.2.3) outside my room.

poetry adhering to certain rules and mostly seen on the sides of doors (or as hanging scrolls in the interior of the home). It usually expresses positive and hopeful thoughts for the coming year. Each line has a one-to-one correspondence to its counterpart in the metrical length. Spring couplets are also seen on both sides of the entrance to the supermarket, and to the temple in the neighbourhood.

These days, couplets on houses are selected and placed mostly by the second generation of LN villagers annually before the Chinese New Year. 'My sons and daughters are now in charge of this; they either buy couplets from the market or get them for free from their friends and colleagues in the army,' said Mrs Qian. 'If I see something nice, I buy it myself and ask my children to put it on both sides of the door; sometimes my friends give us couplets as well' (Mrs Qian interview, 8 January, 2010). Among 50 spring couplets studied in this research, 44 per cent ask for auspiciousness, 30 per cent for wealth and higher rank, 24 per cent for family harmony, and 14 per cent appeal for benevolence.⁹⁹ This generally coincides with the findings elicited from participant observations and interviews in that people in LN Village wish to rewrite their fate, be luckier, forget traumatic experiences of the Chinese civil war, and improve economic situation, family relations and interpersonal relationships, particularly with neighbours. It reminds me of Gullestad's (1993) argument that, in the Norwegian context, the more fragile the family's solidarity, the more stress is placed on its symbolic unity.

Spring couplets also form a tangible index, which assists subtle communication among villagers. By putting couplets on both sides of the front door, each family carefully chooses what they want to personally express, as well what they want to tell others. If we read between the lines, we soon understand that the wish is often simply confined to the family's well-being and personal desire, but can also

⁹⁹ Most spring couplets ask for more than one wish.

be an appeal to neighbours for a reconciliation or settlement of disputes (Figure 69):

眾善奉行年年如意 (Do every good thing so you can live a life as you wish)

諸惡莫作歲歲平安 (Do no evil so you have peace through the years)

In LN Village, thanks to the spring couplets on the wall of the entrance, the visitor can collect information, in this case, on the social integration of the residents and their dreams through the similarity of their stated wishes with those of their neighbours. When LN villagers display black words on red paper, they present a version of themselves as they would like to be seen. Following this discussion about the openings and words on house façades, more findings concerning its interiors are detailed in the following subsections.

Figures



Figure 65: The open front door (the Flexible House)

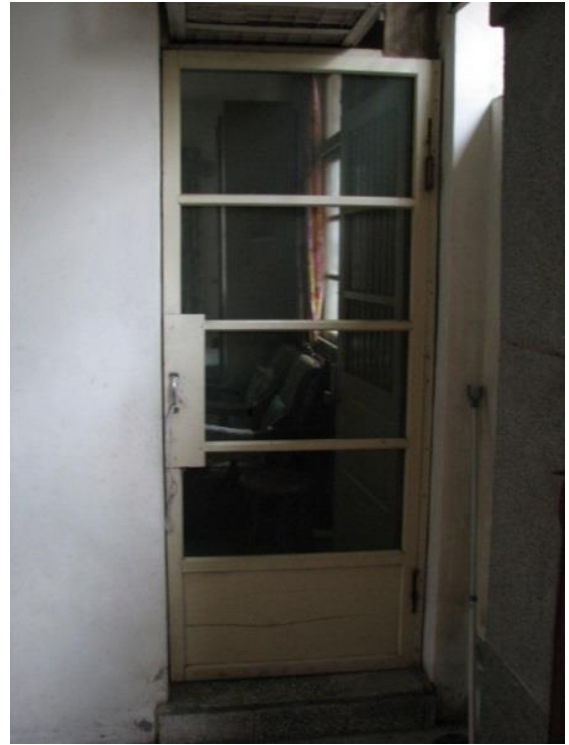


Figure 66: (Left) The back door (left) of the Grocery House and the window of the storage room in which Mr Wang is enshrined

Figure 67: (Right) The wooden room door (in the back) is always kept open, but the hinged screen door (at the front) is shut to keep mosquitoes out



Figure 68: The spring couplet on both sides of the front doors (the Catholic House), asking for auspiciousness



Figure 69: The spring couplet and a red papercut appealing for benevolence and reconciliation (the Storage House)

4.2.2 The living room

In LN Village, a living room is often the largest room of a house and is used for family activities and seating guests and visitors. It is located close to the front door and is personalized and decorated in various ways, and generally provided with sofas serving as seating space for prolonged hours of chatting. Other decorative pieces are also housed in the living room: a central tea table (often made of wood or glass), portraits and paintings hung on walls, and niches or cabinets in or against the walls for displaying various collections. Since most interviews were conducted in the living rooms, my questions about the interior of the house often arose spontaneously during or after the visit. I asked why certain decorations were hung on the walls, who stayed in which room at what time, whose photographs were on display and where were they taken, what collections were arrayed on TV cabinets and chests of drawers. Unlike the building structure, the house interior for most people is rarely fixed or finished, and the ornaments in these interviewees' homes are functional and inexpensive but also express profound truths about their owners. The living room is, in Miller's (2009: 63) terms, an animated scrapbook of juxtaposed relationships. In the analysis that follows I focus on the awards, paintings and photos on the wall, the collections and handicrafts displayed in or on the cabinets, the furniture and TV.

There are awards and certificates in the living rooms. On the main wall of the living room in the Family House (see 4.1.5), high up in the central part hung 'the wooden certificate of the exemplary couple', which was awarded to Mr and Mrs Zheng in the 1990s, while the diagonally opposite wall is defined by a huge group photo of the family. Behind the counter of Qingping store, the second and smaller grocery of LN Village, Mrs Liu proudly showed me her inscribed board of the model mother, which she received from the Hsinchu city government in 2007. Possessions can be viewed as parts of the self and where we live becomes a stage set onto which our self-image is projected via moveable objects (Marcus 2006: 57). Thus awards and other such time-marked objects, often associated with rites of passage, are more likely to act as reminders of temporal discontinuity than continuity in our lives (Belk 1990).

Many other key informants treasure and display similar documents and objects in their living rooms because they depict occupational achievements or acknowledgements of long service in private sector businesses after retirement from the army. This family tradition of thinking highly of certification extends from the first diasporic generation to the younger ones. Certificates of merit of sons and grandchildren's sport medals are often seen on the walls in the village houses. The desire for awards is often an attempt to be recognised and accepted in society. In parallel with the house itself, certificates and awards form the very material evidence of one's life, the achievements and the sense that, over the years, one has gradually become a person of substance (Miller 2009: 77). Success at school or in a career is important to LN villagers finding a world ahead of them that lives up to the world they have left behind.

There are paintings, calligraphy and ornaments in living rooms. The advantage of the image is that it provides a permanent memory that can be looked upon, touched or felt (Warnier 2001: 16). 'These paintings are all brought back here from mainland China. They were not bought but given to my husband by his nephew in *Hangzhou* city, and colleagues, and friends in retirement homes for the veterans (榮民之家),' said Mrs Qian (Interview, 8 January, 2010). Mr Fang Jr, the chief of JG Borough, worriedly told me (Interview, 22 April, 2010):

'The calligraphy was given to me by my artistic cousin in Tainan, while the dragon painting was a gift by a countryman of Anhui Province Association. But their frames were bought by me. I am concerned about their arrangement in the future when I move to the new resettlement apartment which is much smaller. Maybe some of them have to be hung in the toilets.'

'This famous landscape painting (replica) by Chang Dai-chien was brought back home by my daughter,' Mrs Guo said proudly (Mrs Guo, interview, 14 July,

2010).¹⁰⁰ The giver of the painting is usually much more important than the theme and content of the painting itself. It is material evidence of a relationship and network for a disrooted (from the motherland) diasporic family. Though art objects often symbolize participation in a system of aesthetic goals (Csikszent-mihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 243), paintings and ornaments on the walls are also portals to the world, both foreign and local. 'The landscape painting was my nephew's work. He is very good at it and lives in *Xiamen*,'¹⁰¹ Mrs Fang, mother of the borough chief showed me around her spacious living room (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010):

'I've been to Harbin and the Songhua River;'¹⁰² these ornaments were all brought back and hung up by me, but the plastic flowers in front of them were acquired from the traditional market nearby. Those giant spoons and forks from SE Asia were bought by my second son who used to be a seafarer.'

Apart from the aforementioned red paper cuts of Chinese characters such as 'good fortune (*Fu*, 福), spring (*Chun*, 春), and those ushering in wealth and prosperity (*Zhao Cai Jin Bao*, 招財進寶),' paintings of one's Zodiac sign and name (an improvised painting inspired from the consumer's zodiac and name, popular in mainland China), calabash (symbol of auspiciousness), and mirrors (magic tools for revealing goblins) are commonly seen in and around living rooms. Many of these ornaments on the walls echo or enhance the wishes expressed in

¹⁰⁰ Chang Dai-chien (張大千) is one of the best-known and most prodigious Chinese artists of the twentieth century. By the 1960s, he was renowned as a modern impressionist and expressionist painter.

¹⁰¹ Xiamen, also known as Amoy, is a major city on the southeast (Taiwan Strait) coast of the People's Republic of China. It is administered as a sub-provincial city of Fujian province.

¹⁰² Harbin is the capital and largest city of Heilongjiang Province in Northeast China, as well as the tenth most populated city in the People's Republic of China. The Songhua River is a river in Northeast China, and is the largest tributary of the Heilong River (Amur).

the spring couplets. Art may be an actor or acted upon, agent or patient, in a field of agents and patients which take diverse forms and have diverse effects on one another (Gell 1988), and it embodies capabilities (Strathern 1999: 16-7).

Figures



Figure 70: In Qingping store, Mrs Liu's inscribed board of the model mother is hung high on the wall (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.2.3 The photo

The images provided by photographs, drawings, and by all the material objects of a manufactured world, help the psyche in its work of establishing duration, memory and a sense of continuity (Warnier 2001: 17). 'The photo of the whole family has been hung here for more than 20 years,' Mrs Fang added, 'it was taken in front of the wine cabinet in this same living room' (Interview, 23 April, 2010). Family photographs taken especially during seasonal holidays, graduations, weddings, and anniversaries, vacation trips, and of children during infancy, are

meant to serve as edited markers and stimuli for future reflection, communication, and consolidation of sense of self. During the interviews, many women discussed a galaxy of photos of their little grandchildren, as babies being fed with milk, toddling, playing in the house, graduating from the college, visiting their grandmothers and being accompanied by their girlfriends or boyfriends. The photos of one's children that so many adults cherish are signs of the self's extension into the future; they prefigure the development of one's descendants who will carry on the psychic order one has created for generations to come (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 242).

Photos are also places in which memories linger on. Graduation pictures of the children (second generation), which mark the fruitful results of upbringing, are common in all neighbourhoods. Travel photos are popular and valued too. 'It is the landscape of the Badain Jaran Desert (巴丹吉林沙漠, by size the third largest desert in China) where I once travelled,'¹⁰³ Mr Fang Jr pointed at the photo on the wall, 'you can see the water and reflection in the desert. So I spent 1000 NT dollars to frame it' (Interview, 22 April, 2010). 'These are photos of my trip to Europe: Netherlands, tulips, Rome, Italy and France.' Mrs Fang recalled anecdotes, 'I remember that we were asked to leave the watchmaker's shop because the shopkeeper wanted to close the shop and go home' (Interview, 23 April, 2010). These photos, images introjected within a couple of minutes before boarding the tour operator's bus and rushing to the next sight (Warnier 2001: 17), act as hyperlinks to richer memories behind the scenes.

Photos are reservoirs in which present and past relationships are kept. 'In this photo of the whole family taken on my fiftieth wedding anniversary, all but my youngest son are there,' Mrs Zheng happily showed me the huge photo on her

¹⁰³ The Badain Jaran Desert (巴丹吉林沙漠) is a desert in China which spans the provinces of Gansu, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia. It covers an area of 19,000 sq. miles and is home to the tallest stationary sand dunes on Earth.

wall in the living room. 'My children hired a professional photographer to shoot the picture while we were well dressed and groomed' (Interview, 17 December, 2009). However, there may also be tensions between photos as well as relationships. In Mr and Mrs Kuo's living room, two sets of photos rival for attention. A set of photos of Mr Kuo's children by his ex-wife in mainland China, who married him before his fleeing to Taiwan in 1949, occupy the central area below the clock on the wall, while those pictures of Mr Kuo's children by his current wife, who married him in Taiwan, compete for Mr Kuo's attention right next to them. Mr Kuo is living with his Taiwanese wife in one home, but strongly feels the pull of another home, the earlier Chinese home. He is always aware that, beyond everyday life here, part of his heart also dwells in another place.

Many old photos were taken during special occasions or family celebrations such as birthdays, family reunions, and wedding anniversaries. More recent ones were taken during gatherings with friends, neighbours and offspring at home or abroad. 'This lady in the photo who married a foreigner is the granddaughter of a friend of Mr Jia, my husband,' Mrs Jia further explained to me. 'We had taken care of her grandfather when he had been seriously ill, therefore her parents gave us this photo of her when visiting us last time' (interview, 29 September, 2009). It is through partaking in each other's joys and sorrows that LN villagers become friends and even families. Their lives are interwoven, and so are their possessions. 'It is funny that we once had a wedding photo of our neighbour which he and his wife did not have because my father was one of few people in LN Village who knew how to use a camera back then,' Ms Wang proudly told me (Interview, 10 December, 2009).

Photos of family members are common on the walls, shelves, and tables; the preferred size for them is often medium, sometimes large. These photos can be found displayed in 33 out of the 40 living rooms in this study. Of those living rooms that display pictures, 19 of them display one to 17 photographs, while five families have 20 to 50 photos on display. The extreme cases are striking. Mrs Fang displays 59 photographs, and Mr Xu has 66 on just one wall. In some houses, more pictures can be found in other rooms. It is clear that family photos rival land-

scapes and paintings in popularity.¹⁰⁴ It is also worth noting that photos of former president Chiang Kai-Shek, the political and military leader who led the Chinese diaspora from mainland China to Taiwan, and his son Chiang Ching-kuo, the succeeding president, and the current president Ma Ying-jeou, all of whom are diasporic Chinese and members of KMT, are also seen in these houses.¹⁰⁵ Their portraits are juxtaposed with the family photos as if they were part of the family. In particular, Chiang Kai-Shek is often unknowingly connected to fatherhood. For example, in the Portal House, Chiang Kai-Shek's picture is installed near the photo of Mr Chang which was taken during the 'Father of the Year 2005' award ceremony. The idea of 'borrowed family' has been explored in Chapter 2 (Sub-section 2.2.3).

The evolving course of daily life may be deposited and recorded on the wall, which becomes memory sedimented in time. In Xu's apartment, the wall in the living room is fully covered with images. Some images are half-hidden behind others, while a few others are hidden completely. Mr and Mrs Xu are now keen Yuanji (元極舞, a mixture of martial arts, physical therapy, meditation, dance and qigong exercise) dancers. Photos of the Yuanji Dance Club or related events are everywhere. Many of them are even clipped onto the frames of old photos because all available space is fully used. Family pictures are mostly old and located far from Mr Xu's desk, while photos of trips with club friends to places around the island are new and easier to reach. The shift from depictions of family to friends and from a narrow range of subjects on which they focus to wider networks, the characteristics and mode of display, imply a trend of indigenization and localization. Similar to the trend that Halle has found in the U.S. in the 1990s (1993:

¹⁰⁴ Only one landscape photo was found in 33 living rooms.

¹⁰⁵ Taiwan has seen six presidents since 1945; four of them (Chiang Kai-Shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Yen Chia-kan, Ma Ying-jeou) were born in China (including Hong Kong) and two (Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian) in Taiwan.

96-97), the family photos displayed nowadays reflect a shift from formality to informality.¹⁰⁶

Figures



Figure 71: Mrs Fang's travel photos and the ornaments brought back by her son from SE Asia

¹⁰⁶ 'Formal' refers to pictures that depict people either in non-casual clothing or at certain special occasions (such as weddings, graduations, or religious rituals), or both. Most family photos now depict people at leisure - in the backyard, at the beach, on trips and outings or abroad (Halle 1993: 96-97).



Figure 72: The portrait of Chiang Kai-Shek and the photo of Mr Chang taken at the 'Father of the Year 2005' award ceremony are arranged close to each other (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 73: Mr Xu and the wall fully covered by his photos of family and friends

4.2.4 The cabinet, handicraft and furniture

The wall cabinet is a primary element of a general living room in LN Village; it can be a place for storage, a portal, a shelter, and a treasure box of objects. In the Catholic House (see 4.1.3), Mrs Jia does not completely remember how all articles came to be in her wall cabinet, 'the Buddha Maitreya was stored here when my youngest daughter moved from one place to another, and the jade lion was a gift from my son.'¹⁰⁷ But I don't really know how the folding screen ornament and the mini Christmas tree got here' (Interview, 29 September, 2009). In the Flexible House (see Subsection 4.1.7), Mrs Qian collected discarded wine bottles and god figurines from the neighbourhood when neighbours moved away, 'I thought the earth god, the god of wealth, and the memorial wine bottle were still pretty so I saved them in my cabinet' (Interview, 8 January, 2010).

Wine bottles are the most common items displayed in these cabinets. 'My younger brother was once a seafarer so he bought wine bottles from around the world,' explained Mr Fang Jr, 'the tower-shaped bottle was from Japan and the bell-like one from the U.S.' (Interview, 22 April, 2010). However, these beautiful bottles are accompanied by an inconvenient truth. Drinking problems are one of many torments to the families of the village. 'Mr Chen could drink all day and those bottles were the by-products,' Mrs Chen muttered her dissatisfaction with her late husband, 'thank heavens that my son is not like him' (Interview, 19 March, 2010). One of my landlady's sons even died of suffocation in his bed after drinking an excess of alcohol.

Objects in the cabinets also function as photos do but are perhaps more powerful; they seem to preserve deeper memories and can be released when their owners touch them. Souvenirs obtained from trips around Taiwan and beyond (China,

¹⁰⁷ Buddha Maitreya is the Buddha of the future, also known as the Laughing Buddha, and the one which follows the historical Buddha Sakyamuni.

Thailand, Japan and Europe), children's toys (dolls), collections (shells), gifts (paintings, curios) from family in mainland China and from neighbours in the vicinity and things (collections and articles) left behind by the deceased all link to memories of bygone days (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010; Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April and 13 July, 2010). These objects act as catalysers as well as ways of expression. 'None of them is much liked now,' Mrs Fang talked about her various trinkets and souvenirs in the cabinets, 'I just wanted to buy them at that particular moment during the trip and that's it' (Mrs Fang, interview, 13 July, 2010). Souvenirs, which commonly tangibilise the tourist experience, and mementos are intentionally selected to act as markers for retrospective memories in the future (Belk 1990).

It is noteworthy that the cabinet is not a space in which things are randomly stored but an ordered place in which objects are categorized and carefully positioned. In the Catholic House, photos of the 'governors' line the top of the wall cabinet from left to right: two Jesus figures shining with a halo, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen the founder of the ROC, Chiang Kai-shek, 'The Late President Lord Chiang', and his last wife Soong May-ling.¹⁰⁸ Directly below them are photos of Mrs Jia's sons, souvenirs from abroad and awards. Further down are pictures of Mrs Jia with her teachers at the community college for the elderly, and with noted public figures, as well as her grandson when he was a toddler. The lower parts of the cabinet accommodate family and friend photo albums and a few curios. The disposition of things in the cabinet is the total result of religious, familial, and social ranks, and the objects are tokens of remembrance, respect, and love (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 242).

¹⁰⁸ The Nationalists were defeated by the CPC in 1949, and the government led by Chiang Kai-shek was forced to retreat to Taiwan. Chiang ruled the island securely as President of the ROC and General of the Kuomintang until his death in 1975.

Apart from photographs and objects in the cabinets, the most significant material expression of relationships between people and things comes in the form of handicrafts. Mrs Jia and Mrs Xu hung their handmade dolls high around the cabinets and proudly showed them to me; created out of cloth patchwork, they were made in the popular community workshop and were much treasured (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009; Mrs Xu, interview, 16 July, 2010). In Mrs Chen's living room, products of her hobby and job are both on display. 'I learnt from friends and made that trinket umbrella with tobacco boxes out of an interest in handiwork,' she added, 'but those two white bulbs were produced by my own hands in the light bulb factory I used to work in' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). As a single mother who raised four children on her own, one of whom became a university professor in computer science, the bulb was truly the key to her monthly income and household maintenance.

We are empowered to discover novel features of built structures or to create such features ourselves by rearranging the materials already present in a given residence (Casey 1993: 116). In an aging community like LN Village, furniture is the tangible, transferrable, and memorable heritage in the living room. Villagers' favourite chairs can act as objects of stability in their lives because they 'provide an embracing feeling of warmth' (Belk 1990). It is constantly touching and being touched by the resident and can preserve marks left by its user, or even becomes a substitute for its owner. 'The sofa and the table came together; they've been here for ages. My daughter moved them here from her house after her husband died,' Mrs Chou affectionately looked at the other chair and continued, 'My husband bought the rocking chair in this city and he used to enjoy sitting in it' (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). On the other hand, with technology, the latest model of massage chair can compensate for the children's absence. When visiting the In-Building House (Subsection 4.1.8), Mrs Guo explained Mr Guo's fancy

massage chair. 'Mr Guo suffered partial paralysis for years so my second daughter bought that for us' (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010).¹⁰⁹

Furniture usually enters the house with a story connected to its owner. 'The whole set of these rattan chairs will definitely go to the new apartment with me,' Mrs Chen told me, when discussing how and why she got them. 'Rattan is a firm and solid material. I loved these chairs at first sight. I saw and bought them in Taoyuan during a trip to Cihu Presidential Burial Place, the temporary resting place of Chiang Kai-shek. I even hired professional workers to put on a new coat of varnish' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). The rattan chairs have been in Mrs Chen's house for more than 40 years, and their toughness seems to reflect Mrs Chen's persistence.

Furniture does not only reflect its owner's life but also his or her mind. In noodle shopkeeper Mr Chang's house, his tea table at the centre of the living room contains no less information than a laptop. There are family precepts, election campaign leaflets, articles torn from magazines and press cuttings. Most topics concern conflicts and reconciliation between the diasporic Chinese and the Hoklo Taiwanese, local news, and Mr Chang's own benevolent actions.¹¹⁰ One of the pictures is an aerial satellite image of the Earth with Taiwan at its centre; its caption states, 'The image transmitted from Shenzhou Spacecraft shows where we live - the sweet potato shaped island Taiwan next to mainland China.'

¹⁰⁹ In Taiwan, it is commonly believed that regular massage can benefit the human body, particularly older ones.

¹¹⁰ Mr Chang sold more than 60 camellia pots to raise money for St. Teresa Children Center.

Figures



Figure 74: Old (right) and new (left) TVs in the Hub House. A paper architectural model of the Hub House placed on top of the new TV (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 75: Mrs Jia's cabinet with an image of Jesus and the national founding statesmen on top of it (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 76: (Left) Discarded wine bottles and god figurines are saved by Mrs Qian and kept in her cabinet (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

Figure 77: (Right) Mrs Xu and her handicrafts (the cloth frog and the paper swan) in the cabinet



Figure 78: (Left) The late Mr Chou's favourite rocking chair is looked after with a cushion placed on it (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

Figure 79: (Right) Mrs Chen and her favourite rattan chair (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.2.5 The TV

Black-and-white TVs first became available in the 1960s, but the price was high (7000 NT dollars, excluding the antenna instalment fee of 300 NTD). One of the major entertainment events back then involved neighbours gathering at whichever house had a TV in its living room, and watching programs together. Not until the 1970s could more households afford to buy them (Li 2006). Nowadays the TV is a loyal companion that keeps the elderly company from morning to midnight. The TV is 'as much a defining feature of the house as eating together is a defining feature of kinship' (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 42).

In the In-Building House, 'I wake up at six or seven a.m. every day. Then I make breakfast, offer incense on the altar, and shop for food at the local market. After all those, I have to watch the news on TV in the morning. In the evening, I watch singing shows and soap opera. Sometimes I watch TV until midnight' (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010). Mrs Qian was so familiar with TV programs that she could describe different types of channels to me, 'I prefer watching western films from channel 65 to 71 in the evening, some of them are really entertaining. I watch Korean dramas too. Occasionally I watch Mandarin films (channel 61 to 64). From 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. it's news time for me; I watch it on Chinese Television System (CTS). After that, it is soap opera time,' she said, her voice accompanied by the habanera 'L'amour est un oiseau rebelle' from the television (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).¹¹¹ During most of the interviews, the TV was often kept turned on by the lone interviewee, which made the house slightly noisy, as though there were other family members in the house.

TV also provides bridges between people of different languages. In the In-Building House, Mr and Mrs Guo, and a care worker from SE Asia live under

¹¹¹ The habanera 'L'amour est un oiseau rebelle' is one of the most famous arias from Georges Bizet's 1875 opera *Carmen*.

one roof. Mrs Guo once said to me, 'When Mr Guo is hospitalized, *wailao* (the foreign labour) and I sit here watching TV and have meals together in the living room. She's an Indonesian but she speaks Mandarin pretty well; she can understand the plot of the Mandarin soap opera' (Mrs Guo, interview, 14 July, 2010). Mrs Chen also told me that she enjoyed learning what happened around the world:

'I watch the news on Taiwan Television (TTV) every day. It used to broadcast much more global news but unfortunately not anymore. I don't like Mandarin soap opera because it's boring. But I like to watch Japanese cooking/bakery shows, costume dramas, and reality shows. Though I don't speak Japanese, I can have a rough idea of those programs' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

TV bridges different generations too. In the Hub House, first-generation villager Mrs Bian enjoys her TV time mostly in the morning, and her granddaughter watches it in the afternoon after school while waiting for her father, who relaxes before it during dinner time after work. From people watching one television set concurrently in the neighbourhood to enjoying the program at home alone or with a carer from SE Asia, the advancement in electronic technology and the desire for comfort have reduced the time of public life and lowered a person's level of stimulation and receptivity; it could serve the person at rest in withdrawing from other people in the village (Sennett 1994: 339) but may also link people of different languages, ages and background together.

The typical village living room with a TV at its centre is often a dining place or an extension of the dining area. 'On Chinese New Year's Eve,' said Mrs Chou, 'my family always sits around two tables, one in the dining room, and the other in the living room' (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). A living room was also often used as a bedroom when there was limited space in the house. 'I used to sleep in today's living room when my current bedroom was reserved for my son and daughter-in-law. Not until they moved out did I have my own bedroom,' Mrs Chou added. Take my room in the Hub House as an example. It was my landlady's

bedroom before I moved in. However, before she moved into this room, it had first been her son and daughter-in-law's sitting and bedroom. In other words, my landlady, Mrs Bian, her offspring and I have all shared the one room throughout different times. Rights to use rooms are changing with time, and provide the connection among generations as well as creating similar experiences between leasers and tenants.

The living room may also contain links to neighbouring living rooms. Mrs Bian and Mrs Chow are so close that their living rooms effectively 'become one'. Mrs Bian once discussed the current news with me, concerning the cancellation of the senior citizen stipend and asked, 'Do you want to read it in the newspaper? It's now in Mrs Chou's living room and I can get it for you' (Mrs Bian, interview, 13 July, 2010). The living rooms are indeed personal cosmoses containing considerable spaces and features. Photographs, souvenirs, trophies, and more humble everyday objects act as repositories for memories and meanings in our lives (Belk 1990). In the following subsections, other rooms such as shrines, toilets, kitchens, and storage are briefly examined and discussed.

Figures



Figure 80: Mr Chang's informational table full of texts and images (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.2.6 The shrine

If the living room represents self and sociability, the shrine is its vernacular and spiritual antithesis. The shrine (*Shen-ming-ting*, 神明廳), or the worship hall, is the place where people worship ancestors and 'bright spirits' (*shen-ming*, 神明). In LN Village houses, the *Shen-ming-ting* is often located in a central but inconspicuous space of the house, such as a corner in the living room or the wall near the kitchen, while some altars are erected in the bedroom of the deceased or a room not in daily use. The altar, the corner of worship, and the rituals will be illustrated with specific cases in the following paragraphs.

First, the altar. In the Catholic House, gods from the west and the east peacefully stay in the living and dining rooms respectively. 'This is the ancestor tablet of our

family,' self-claimed Catholic Mrs Jia explained, pointing to the wooden object on the altar, 'And next to it is the second (porcelain) figurine of Bodhisattva together with the first (wooden) one bought by my youngest daughter.'¹¹² The patrilineal ancestors' surname is inscribed on the tablet. The *Shen-ming-ting* is also a compartment into wishful thinking and pledges are placed for the ancestral spirits and gods. 'My son put three glasses of water before Bodhisattva *Guanyin* (觀音菩薩) in order to usher in wealth and prosperity (*zhao cai jin bao*, 招財進寶)' (Interview, 29 September, 2009).¹¹³ The urn inscribed with '*zhao cai jin bao*' and holding burnt joss sticks is placed behind the three glasses and a few packs of cookies are offered on the altar. The altar in Mrs Jia's dining room is framed with a couplet speaking of fortune and auspiciousness, which corresponds to the themes of the spring couplet at the front door of the house (Figure 29).

Second, the corner of worship . In the Collector's House, Mrs Fang set up an altar (without burning incense) on top of the glass cabinet for her husband. Mr Fang's portrait photo and a figurine of Bodhisattva Guanyin stand on the altar, with two porcelain rabbits and two lotus candleholders clustered around it.¹¹⁴ The porcelain rabbits were gifts from Mrs Bian's son years ago, and the two families have been neighbours since the birth of the village. She has also turned the former kitchen in the courtyard into a shrine for Bodhisattva Guanyin, Bodhisattva Maitreya (彌勒菩薩), and the ancestors of the Fang family. 'I burn incense in the shrine every day and pray for blessing and protection' said Mrs Fang (Interview, 23 April, 2010). In the Hub House, Mrs Bian installed a corner of worship in the

¹¹² An ancestral tablet is a spirit tablet and a memorial tablet, which is a placard designating the seat of past ancestors. It acts as an effigy of ancestors.

¹¹³ Bodhisattva Guanyin is a Buddhist Bodhisattva; she is one of the most worshipped divinities in Taiwan, and a popular goddess among Taiwanese folk religions.

¹¹⁴ The lotus, the symbol of mental and spiritual purity, is one of the Eight Auspicious Symbols (Parasol, Golden Fishes, Treasure Vase, Lotus, Conch Shell, Endless Knot, Victory Banner and Wheel); it is one of the most poignant representations of Buddhist teaching.

bedroom of her late eldest son.¹¹⁵ Most shrines are found on the ground floor, and their spatial forms are simple and humble.

Compared to other shrines, Mrs Chen's *Shen-ming-ting* is much more formal and splendid. In the Vertical House (Subsection 4.1.10), Mr Chen and his parents are enshrined on the highest (second) floor. The altar is organized and set up with offering dishes, beacon lights, urns and more cups of water (Interview, 19 March, 2010). Similarly, the tablet of the late Mr Qian and his first wife is placed on the top floor of the newly acquired three-storey building, which is now used as a retreat house (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010). Unlike their neighbours, native Taiwanese Hoklo Mrs Chen and Hakka Mrs Qian used to have regular contact with their birth families and local customs introduced the traditional religious ideas into the diasporic community through marriage.¹¹⁶

Third, the rituals and its localization. The *Shen-ming-ting* in the Chou family probably best demonstrates the idea of religion in LN villagers' minds. In her living room, a red paper behind the altar was put up by Mr Chou to serve as a spiritual tablet; six Chinese characters are written on the paper, '*Tien, Di, Jun, Guo, Qin Wei* (天地君國親位),' meaning 'the tablet of the heaven, the earth, the supreme ruler, the nation, and the family'. It reveals the hierarchy of order in the world. 'I don't really understand what the red paper tablet is about,' illiterate Mrs Chou told me, 'I burn joss sticks for late Mr Chou, Bodhisattva Guanyin, and the ancestors of the Chou family, and I perform religious rituals on the 1st and the 15th of each lunar month, as well as the Chinese New Year, with fruit offerings' (Interview, 21 January, 2010). Many widowed villagers have kept these rituals of remembrance going for years, which echoes the research finding that relations with the ancestral dead are actively realized through an ongoing cycle of reunions followed

¹¹⁵ He died of suffocation in his own bed after drinking an excess of alcohol years ago.

¹¹⁶ There are many traditional religious ideas or taboos, such as avoiding offending the gods and spirits by placing the altar above residents' heads rather than under their feet.

by separations (Stafford 2003: 5). 'Three joss sticks are burnt every day, one for the heaven, the second one for the ancestors, and the third one for *Tudigong* (the earth deity),' Mrs Guo explained to me, 'And I offer fruits and three joss sticks for each of them, and I burn ghost money at the front door on the 2nd and the 16th of each lunar month.' Rituals of this kind help to express the fact of practical, emotional and ritual inclusion since 'a complex link to the ancestors is sustained in spite of death, separation and loss' (Stafford 2003: 6).¹¹⁷

The Guo family also follows the Taiwanese local businessmen's religious rituals because Mr Guo was once a crane driver at a private company following his retirement from the air force. 'His boss was a Hakka. Though Mr Guo is no longer a crane driver, we continue to worship *Tudigong* and pray for His blessing of keeping us safe and well' (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010). Here, materiality, spirituality and emotion link the living with the dead and the divine in a complex interplay of past and present: The *Shen-ming-ting* serves as an illustration for the dialectics of inside and outside, the living and the deceased, the migrants and the locals.

¹¹⁷ The ancestral dead and the 'bright spirits' (*shen-ming*) are credited with mobility. They are not everywhere at all times; on the contrary, they often come and go with alacrity. They do not sit still (Stafford 2003: 6).

Figures



Figure 81: The altar in the Catholic House. A ceramic Guanyin (a Bodhisattva) at the centre, a wooden *Guanyin* on the right, and a tablet representing the deceased ancestors on the left



Figure 82: (Left) The altar in the Collector's House (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 83: (Right) The more formal and splendid altar in the Chen house



Figure 84: The humble altar and the red paper tablet in the Chou house



Figure 85: The altar and the figurine of *Tudigong* in the Guo family house

4.2.7 Other rooms

Apart from living rooms and *Shen-ming-ting*, toilets and bathrooms are indispensable to LN Village houses. They are mundane places in daily use but have long been overlooked by anthropology; their close relationship with the body implies a sophisticated interaction and a reservoir of human experience. In contrast, the kitchen and the storage are dominated by objects. Food becomes the key ingredient to mediate between diasporic and local communities, while excess collection of both daily-use articles and hobby items remedy feelings of loss and insecurity.

First, the toilet and the bathroom. 'A home without a toilet is not homey,' Mrs Chen affirmed (Interview, 19 March, 2010). For years, LN villagers had no toilets at home and had to queue up to use shared public lavatories, especially in rush hours in the morning and evening. After the 1970s, because of the instalment of a privy in each house (or yard), defecation gradually became a private activity, diminishing the habit of people greeting neighbours and talking to friends while waiting for an available toilet.¹¹⁸ However, over and beyond our memories, the house in which we were born is physically inscribed in us. 'It is a group of organic habits' (Bachelard 1994: 14). A number of LN villagers maintain this habit, despite the improvement of everyday facilities through time. Before tap water and shower nozzles were available in LN Village, adults took showers at public baths or washed themselves with washbowls at home, while their kids splashed about in wooden or metal bathtubs in the yard. For many second-generation villagers, the memories of childhood houses have an extraordinarily evocative power, which reinforces the connections between larger political processes and the supposed havens of family life (Carsten 2004: 27-31). During my stay in Mrs Bian's house,

¹¹⁸ This same withdrawal occurred in entertainment time after work and school. People are now rarely seen gathering in front of their doors to freely chat or watch a TV program at someone's house due to house confinement by TV sets being available to all.

every day her youngest son, a father of two teenagers, preferred coming back to his birth house after work to take a shower with an old bucket, before leaving for his own house (located at the other side of the city) to sleep in the late evening. Here, in Mrs Bian's Hub House, the childhood home of the second generation acts as a service area, relay station, or comfort zone for them to rest between offices and their own homes.

Mrs Chen's younger brother, who currently lives in a modern apartment with full sanitary and bathroom equipment, still maintains the old habit of squatting down and taking a shower without a shower nozzle. 'Even my rich neighbour Mrs Han keeps the habit,' Mrs Chen added, 'she continues to ladle up water from the bucket to take a shower as we used to do.' The fact that no toilet is installed in Mrs Han's three storey apartment and she uses the lavatory outside her own house may show us that the presence and activity of the inhabitant's lived body are presupposed by both the continuing accessibility and familiarity of a dwelling place – a mere site is therefore transformed into a dwelling place by this body (Casey 1993: 116).¹¹⁹

Second, the kitchen. The fate of the kitchen in LN village changes radically over time. In the beginning, there was no kitchen in the house at all. The mobile kitchen was literally a stove; women cooked in the yard on sunny days or indoors on rainy ones. Mrs Fang, from Nanjing City in Eastern China, told me, 'When we were first here, we had to buy a kerosene stove and cook inside the house. We ate almost whatever we could get and I knew nothing about Nanjing cuisine' (Interview, 23 April, 2010). 'There is no difference between Taiwanese and Chinese foods; they are pretty much the same,' stressed many interviewees, 'we have similar foods in our hometowns in China and here in Taiwan.' While food

¹¹⁹ In contrast, there were three toilets in Mrs Bian's house. She and her grandson, Xiao Bian, have two private toilets while I used the third one (but had to share with guests and neighbours from time to time).

seems a more personal and appropriate mode of remaining Jamaican in London (Miller, 2009: 76), it is used to neutralize discrepancy and downplay the fact of being a Chinese in Taiwan.

Later on, when circumstances changed and they could afford to build kitchens, the second generation took their own families and relocated to nearby communities or other cities; the kitchen gradually fell into underuse or even disuse, due to convenient street food in the vicinity and the ageing population. 'The kitchen in the new annex is turned into a storage room because the cookroom in my birth house is big enough; we don't need two kitchens,' Mrs Fang's youngest son, who lived next to his mother's house, told me (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010). In LN village, kitchens in use and those turned into other purposes are time capsules that mark the development of family growth and preserve the memory of family life during those busy days in the past.

Last but not least, the storage room. Preservation is one of many main themes of LN Village, and Mrs Chou's home, the Storage House (Subsection 4.1.6), is the most prominent case. Her house is where everything is kept: possessions of members of the family, neighbours, and even tenants. 'The suitcase is salvaged from the front door of my neighbours when they were moving out.' Mrs Chou remembered very well the origins of each item, 'Those clothes are saved from my previous tenants because they are still wearable and too good to be thrown away, and the electric fan was received after the tenant left so I kept it here' (Interview, 21 January, 2010). Likewise, in the Collector's House (Subsection 4.1.11), 'There are so many rooms turned into storage in our house that the whole first floor of the new annex is occupied by my mom's collections,' Mrs Fang's son, Mr Fang Jr, complained, 'She just keeps everything. She is almost a ragpicker!' Mrs Fang scavenges through miscellaneous articles ready to be discarded by her family members, who live in other houses (Interview, 22 April, 2010). There are even two mini bicycles and two scooters in Mr Zhang's living room (Interview, 28 July, 2010). His grandchildren are now teenagers and rarely ride those bicycles, while Mr Zhang and his wife are too old to use their scooters, but they all remain as they

are likely to evoke a childhood escapade or pastime memory, as much as any rocking horse or first family vehicle.

In some houses, the storage and *Shen-ming-ting* share a room. In the Hub House and the Grocery House, both families keep memories and objects in the same place. The only difference between the ways people deal with possessions and memory may be that, unlike memories, possessions have to go through re-ordering by their moving in and out of displays and storage during the thorough cleaning (*Da-Sao-Chu*, 大掃除) before the Chinese New Year every year.

Figures



Figure 86: The bathroom without any shower nozzle in the Bian house



Figure 87: The kitchen in the Fang house (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 88: The storage area in the Chou house (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

4.3 Summary

Like the stars in heaven, the houses of men form earthly constellations
(Bachelard 1994: 35).

Juancun, the military dependents' villages built after wars, are where the Chinese diaspora truly find some peace and live as their contemporaries dwell when they are able to 'concretize the world in buildings and things' (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 23). Rooms, houses, meeting places and settlements in LN Village are 'places created and known through common experiences, symbols and meanings' (Tilley 1994: 18). And processes of feeding and nurturance, the emotionally charged social relations of close kinship, and repetitive bodily practice encode many rules of social life (Carsten 2004: 31). The greater the control people exercise over objects and environments, the more closely allied with the selves they become (Marcus 2006: 52). Through creating, exchanging and ordering a world of artefacts, people create an ordering of the world of social relations (Tilley 2002b: 28).

In this chapter, I have shown that houses in LN Village make LN villagers as much as they make houses. Home as a process can be a mediator between family members, neighbours, and different religions; it can also be a reservoir of memory or even a focus of imagery. According to Marcus (2006: 72), homes being functional settings for daily life 'are containers for collections of memorabilia. Objects, pictures, furniture, posters, and ornaments – all remind residents of significant people, places, phases, experiences, and values in our lives'. Every object in the house, the Grocery House for example, is a form by which people have chosen to express themselves, both to themselves and to others. LN villagers hang up pictures, paintings, and calligraphy works; they save articles for daily use and wine bottles from neighbours' junk and they carefully select spring couplets every year and offerings twice every month for ancestral spirits and gods. Things (in the In-Building House) such as gifts from family or friends, souvenirs (in the Collectors' Houses) acquired during the trip, objects (in the Storage House) left behind by the deceased, and furniture (in the Vertical House) retained from the past are all chosen to be part of their house as well as life. These things,

in the Portal House for example, are not a random collection; they have been 'gradually accumulated as an expression of that person or household' (Miller, 2009: 2). Though the space of home is thought to be a container for collection of memorabilia (Marcus 2006), it does not and cannot exist apart from the events and activities within which it is implicated. For LN villagers, these are the past miseries, current reveries, and future dreams (cf. Chapter 6). Or, space may be regarded as a medium rather than a container for action since it is socially produced, and social productions are always centred in relation to human agency and are amenable to reproduction or change (Tilley 1994: 233).¹²⁰

Since things are the incarnation of experiences which can be brought to life through the reflections and interpretations that they stimulate (Belk 1990), the seemingly banal activities of regular photograph-posting on the wall (in the Collectors' Houses), TV-watching in the living room (in the Flexible House), and worshipping at *Shen-ming-ting* (in the Catholic House and the Portal House) serve first to reaffirm the pursuit of connection to the world (including China) and anchorage in the local neighbourhood by a household, and second, to give concrete expression to the construction of identity and the legitimacy of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. While dislocations in space may be erased by evocations of past practice that are given a stable location in the house (Carsten 2004: 33), the research of LN Village reveals that it can be further complicated and developed into relocations in space by conjuration of past, present and future through planting homes and bifurcating spaces. More findings through housing plants and inhabiting places are discussed in Chapter 5.

¹²⁰ Different societies, groups and individuals act out their lives in different spaces (Tilley 1994).

Chapter 5 Sustaining the Shrivelling Life of LN Village

Houses, and buildings in general, cannot connect with a past home in quite the same way that plants and soil can. The investment in the house is more definite, more overtly political, and, I would argue, more self-conscious and less personal than the quieter, more easily eradicable but deeply sustaining involvement with soil and plants (Jepson 2006: 169).

In the past decades, studies of *Juancun* in Taiwan attended to many facets of *Waishengren* (Yang and Chang 2010), except the interaction between the settlers and their natural environment. The human-made place of dwelling has structure and embodies meanings, which are reflection of our understanding of the natural environment and their existential situation; therefore, human-environmental engagements are mutually constitutive. While the space of each household is demarcated by terraced unit partitions, it is simultaneously incorporated into the community space defined by the growth of green and circulation of plants. I did not notice this natural part of *Juancun* until I moved into LN Village. Soon I realize that ‘the quieter, more easily eradicable but deeply sustaining involvement with soil and plants’ (Jepson 2006) is not a supplementary part of *Juancun* but deserves a more complete section. In this chapter, the cosmology of Chinese diaspora in Taiwan under the threat of being carried away by time is outlined, examined, and analysed through tangible gardens on the ground and roof, as well as places from the village main entrance to the public space of *Juancun*.

5.1 Housing Plants: the Greens and the Gardens

Plants may be non-judgmental, non-threatening, and non-discriminating (Elings 2006: 52), but they are tokens of a complex of beliefs representing nurturance and concern for the ecology (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 243). Some scholars, such as Marieluise Jonas and Anne Jepson, have tried to decipher the banal interaction between plants and human beings in Japan and Cy-

prus. Jonas (2007) has shown us that Tokyo's flower pot gardens might originate from a reaction to the lack of green space, and they continue to exist, evolve and enrich the urban vastness in unexpected ways,¹²¹ while in Jepson's (2006) study of gardening in Cyprus, the refugees displaced after 1974 have used their gardens as a means of low-key memory work to articulate a connection to their former homes, as a less risky way of articulating a desire to 'put down roots' somewhere other than their 'true' home in the north that, if openly articulated, could lead to accusations of political disloyalty. Similar but nuanced cases can be observed among the diasporic Chinese community in Taiwan.

The most distinctive feature of the village, apart from its dilapidated appearances, and its organic development of houses, is the trees and potted plants grown and arranged in places of unexpectedness: the unobvious display against the walls and hidden gardens behind the closed doors which geminate, bloom and defoliate seasonally. These are not street trees or publicly-financed flower beds, but private plants. The phenomenon is common both inside and outside *juancun* in Taiwan, but little of it has been researched. As Taiwan is a traditionally agricultural country experiencing rapid industrialization in the late 20th century, there is still a continuing interest in various types of gardens, as well as a long-standing and embedded relationship with plants and cultivation. Gardening can be considered an appropriation of nature through everyday practices in the constitution of the domestic sphere (Chevalier 2002: 67).

In LN Village where I stayed, potted plants and trees are found everywhere: places around the lane or at the front door, corners in the back yards or in the courtyard, on top of the house, and vacant lots near the village. These were also places for recreation, communication, exchange, socializing, and nostalgia. Marcus (2006: 33), who shares traumatic memories of war expounds, believes that re-creating some aspects of a childhood garden is more possible for most of

¹²¹ The flower pot garden culture has expanded in visible areas of daily life (Jinnai, 1995: 130).

us than re-creating the home itself: 'Gardening permits me to reproduce the place and activity that gave me the most profound experience of centeredness and nurturance during those impressionable and sometimes fearful years of a war-time childhood.' In this section, I discuss selected trees gardens with unusual features for more insights into the disappearing life of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan.

5.1.1 Living with the trees

Planted trees with life paths of their own are undoubtedly a creation of human environmental interaction, and they are constantly growing and changing out of the reach of cultural intervention; 'this ambivalence allows trees to materialize ideas about identity, the past, authority and place' (Garner 2004: 96). Without continuous change, plants could not survive (Relf 1981). 'This huge camphor tree was once little, my height, when I was a boy,' Mr Fang Jr, the chief of JG Borough, explained, keen to show me the old trees in the village lot when we first met in 2008, 'but now it stands this tall. I hope the government will preserve it after we move out.' A variety of trees are dotted around the village: the camphor tree (樟樹), hoop pine (南洋杉), and Chinese mahogany (香椿). 'All these trees in the village were planted by us villagers,' Mrs Chou proudly told me (Interview, 10 December, 2009). I will start the discussion with 'the Fang's tree.'

Trees can be viewed both as containers of latent values to be released with the correct interventions, as well as active producers of meaning which, by their very existence, shape human responses in patterned ways (Garner 2004: 96). The camphor tree in Mr Fang Jr's garden and the Chinese mahogany in the yard in front of the Storage House provide good thoughts and memories to the occupants.

'The camphor tree was brought here in our garden from bird droppings. It germinated in a discarded bath, and before long broke it. The plant continued to grow but slanted to one side so I pruned and trimmed it to

make it upright again. Now it stands tall after twenty years' (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

Mr Fang Jr, once a boy who grew up with the older camphor tree in the village lot, carefully maintains the younger one in his garden. He is now a keen mountaineer who has conquered most of the 'Top 100 Peaks of Taiwan', and even helped save a rare old Chinese crape myrtle tree in the remote mountains of Yun-Lin County from dying after discovering it had fallen down during a typhoon in 2008. 'I planned to visit this Chinese crape myrtle twice before but failed because of typhoons; I did not see it until the third attempt and it needed my help when I was finally there,' Mr Fang Jr excitedly showed me the press cutting reporting the story, 'we were meant to meet each other.' It is obvious that for Mr Fang Jr trees are more than plants. Through them, Mr Fang Jr, a second-generation diaspora Chinese, is able to form a lasting attachment for the village and even the island. However, the attachment is complicated; it contains both love and fear. The camphor tree in the Fang's yard took root far beyond the expectation of the Fang family. 'Look, its root extended so far that it broke the wall of the shrine in the yard. Luckily we are moving out in the near future, otherwise it might break our houses too,' Mr Fang Jr explained to me about the giant stones which he used to press down the uplifted earth in vain (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

The second plant worth noticing is 'the Chou's tree.' Trees can stand for life, for heritage, for the past and for the future (Garner 2004: 98). The Chinese mahogany standing tall in Mrs Chou's courtyard was brought back from Hua-Lien County and planted by Mr Chou after his field service at Hua-Lien Airport years ago. The Chinese mahogany is treasured by many Chinese diaspora due to its symbolic meaning of 'long life' or 'father.' After Mr Chou's death, the tree has been taken care of by Mrs Chou. 'The leaves of Chinese mahogany taste good,' Mrs Chou explained when we first stood on the roof garden together by the tree top before asking 'do you fancy a dish of scrambled eggs with its leaves? I can make you one.' She plucked a blade of a leaf and rubbed it between her fingers and held it before my nose telling me to 'Smell it' (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010).

Mrs Chou, now in her eighties, walked up and down between roof gardens and the ground floor every day during my fieldwork. She was so familiar with the plants in her garden that she could easily pick leaves or flowers without good eyesight. The tree, which dominates the small courtyard and oversees the Storage House where Mrs Chou lives, is regularly attended to, seen, smelt, and tasted; it is literally the only 'family' to Mrs Chou in recent years following the death of her husband. The Chinese mahogany in the Chou's courtyard has moved from being meaningful for Mr Chou because of its symbolising his father, to having meaning because of its taste, to becoming more meaningful due to its ability to represent Mr Chou and materialize the existence of the family; it has changed from alleviating painful homesickness, to becoming a status symbol, to a heritage artefact.

Humans and trees are closer than we think because personal identities are rooted in the land (Tilley 2002b: 36). In LN Village, trees achieve meaning through their location, their particular species and characteristics, and the human activities that make them significant. As metaphors of the fundamental categories, the trees of the Chinese diaspora community are polysemous but are able to provide a focus of their identity. These trees in the villagers' yards not only help us to more clearly view how deeply they could be engaged in human life but also enable us to reflect on the houses described in Chapter 4 from Bachelard's (1994: 22) perspectives on human dwellings. The house with cosmic roots will appear to us as a stone plant growing out of the rock up to the blue sky (Bachelard 1994: 23-24). The trees help the LN villagers reflect on their idea of being human too. Mr Chang, the village head, explicitly expressed 'People are like trees; the longer they stay in one place, the deeper their roots grow. Let the culture of *juancun* thrive' (Chang 2006: 6). Mr Chang's sense of rootedness, his idea that people, like plants, are naturally adapted to and spring from specific environments, is not unusual. Trees in LN Village have moved from having meaning in culture because of their functions to having meaning due to their ability to materialise and revitalise the past; they have moved from providing a living, to a heritage or even a family.

Figures

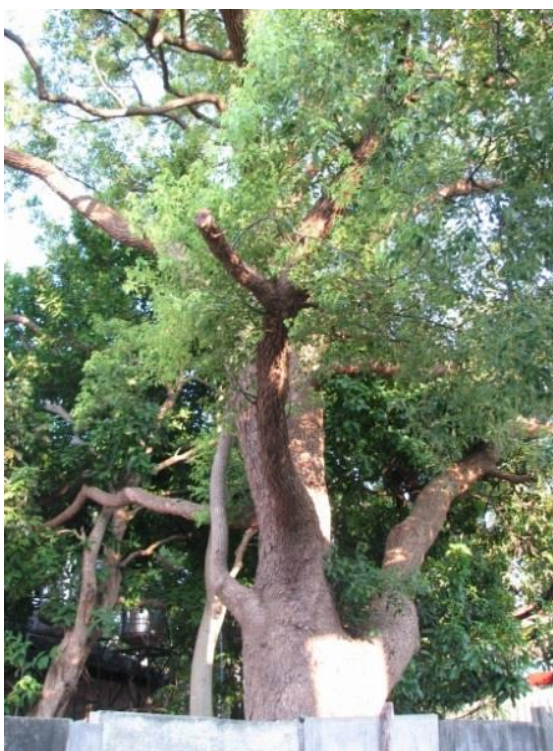


Figure 89 (left): The old camphor tree, which was once as tall as Mr Fang Jr when he was a boy



Figure 90 (right): The dominating Chinese mahogany in Mrs Chou's courtyard oversees the Storage House where Mrs Chou lives (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

5.1.2 Tending to the potted plants

Gardens, which are not so obviously built, not so noticeable, and seemingly not significant, are areas frequented by residents and traversed by visitors on their way into or away from the house. Gardening allows people to feel reconnected with significant human senses, through interactions with soil, water, and plants; such experiences of reconnection can be perceived as therapeutic (Jepson 2014), but they do not necessarily 'root' those who garden to that place (Macdonald 2013: 91).

The walkways and alleys of LN Village were lined with hundreds of potted plants, some of which were clustered into potted gardens at the front of houses or in the back yards. Packed along the walls between buildings, these small gardens were growing and blossoming as living and changing borders between private and

public space, although the borders between households were blurred. These were no ordinary borders; they were more complicated. For example, Lin's potted plants extend from the front entrance to the walkway in front of the Han's house opposite (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). Since most potted plants were not heavy and therefore movable, the potted green belt became a flexible margin of an individual house, or that of a few households shared by mutually trusting neighbours. These mobile items objectify relations between villagers by giving them the form of things. Furthermore, they are tangible objects of benevolence and solidarity on public display. Potted plants in the village tell more stories than I expected. Details are as follows.

First, 'the four groups of potted plants.' Except for a few well-known types of flowers, the LN villagers referred to plants by their own descriptive terms and those used by exchangers: colours, smells, forms and sizes, rather than botanical taxonomy. 'Those pink flowers grew from the seeds, which were brought here by air,' Mrs Chou admired their beauty, 'very pretty indeed' (Interview, 21 January, 2010). New leaves and flowers give the gardener enhanced feelings of pride and self-esteem (Elings 2006: 53). Many gardeners took good care of plants without knowing their names, which seemed insignificant to them.

'We, who are from the countryside, know how to grow vegetables and flowers. As long as we have space for plants we try to grow something. Here are green onions, coriander, sweet potato leaf, and Chinese leaf, but growing them is more for fun than for diet because I live by myself and am unable to eat them all. I grow potted flowers too. But sometimes people in this village steal them away. It's really annoying' (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).

Mrs Qian was one of the best gardeners in LN Village. More than fifty potted plants thrived in her front garden by the car park. After many years of cultivation,

these plants in pots, boxes and containers of different sizes, forms and materials could be categorized into at least four groups: protecting and rooting, feeding and sharing, demanding and taking, and growing and exchanging.¹²² For protection, the trailing luffa (絲瓜), growing on steel wires from the pot near the front gate, partially covered the space between the building and the front yard wall; it is a natural sunshade and cools the house during the hot summer. For rooting, *Hyllocereus guatemalensis* (碧蓮花, the same genus as pitahaya), which clung to the sidewall, could 'grow without soil.' 'It survives even after my son's attempt to chop it away,' Mrs Qian added. 'Its flowers are edible and so beautiful that they are soon plucked off every time after blossoming in the early morning.'

Flourishing green leaves in polystyrene containers close to Mrs Qian's north wall provided vegetables for food and (both intended and unintended) sharing. Though her vegetables and flowers had been stolen many times, she kept her front garden open to all; the garden next to the car park connected Mrs Qian to the community of friends, neighbours, and those who might have pilfered her plants. At the gate stood two larger plants in colourful ceramic pots, which were rewards from the local councillor, Shuying Chung (also a LN villager), after past elections.¹²³ 'I demanded to have them and the councillor agreed,' Mrs Qian explained with a satisfied smile. The rest of the potted plants were for 'fun growing' and exchanging; they were gifts from and for friends and neighbours. The Qian's pot garden became a mediator of sociability. The potted plants on display materialise social relations. These relational objects were appropriated through their placement in the garden, which in turn shows the contained social information (see Figure 3).

¹²² Vases, polystyrene containers, and other improvised constructions, even disused baths, all act as vegetable and plant holders.

¹²³ The campaign headquarters of Shuying Chung were adorned with potted flowers, which were later given away after the election to requite her supporters.

Though the nearest flower shop is only a couple of metres away, and the Hsinchu city flower market is less than 1.8 kilo metres distant, most gardeners in LN Village obtain plants from families, and friends and by chance. Potted plant exchanges were so common that a nicknamed or unnamed plant in an interviewee's house was usually a gift from another. 'Two potted snake plants in Mr Chen's house were from the Xia family, while the one at his door was from me,' Mr Xu proudly announced (Interview, 16 July, 2010). Many interviewees even offered to give me some of their plants after interviews. The organization of the furniture and decoration on the wall mediate relationships within the family, while creating and maintaining the garden acts as an external mediator between non-kin. The garden is thus a means by which the neighbourhood is created and defined (Chevalier 2002: 60).

Second, 'growing plants and children.' Gardens require constant tending and renewal if they are not to return to wilderness (Macdonald 2013: 91-2). In gardening, growing and making are as inseparable as they are in the rearing of a child; therefore, there is an equivalence between the production of a person and the production of a garden, because the processes for both are sensual as well as unpredictable (Jepson 2014). This is manifested in the following utterance of the old widow Mrs Chen, who constantly switched the subjects of conversation between the plants and her children:

'I once grew orchids on the first floor terrace garden. I really liked orchids when I was young. I got some Chinese banyan (Ficus microcarpa) too. They are like flower plants. You have to tend to them so they could grow well and look nice. Before the car accident, I used to shape them with wires. But after losing one leg and getting old, bonsai making and gardening are now beyond me...Alas! My son is not obedient as before. I told him that I'm ready for death' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

Mrs Chen described her feelings when seeing her orchids die after being unattended during her being hospitalised for months, 'I felt so wretched because I

took care of them for decades!’ Mrs Chen also cultivated vegetables in an open field by the factory she used to work in, and delivered the harvest from there to her younger siblings in Taoyuan County, who were, to a certain degree, like her children. It took a few hours for her to travel there using her scooter, but she gladly endured the hardship (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). Unlike Islamic gardens, which sought to provide relief from labour (Sennett 1994: 184), the Chen’s terrace garden is designed and used to consume labour. Through her care of it, Mrs Chen can reconstruct the world from attending to these plants. The LN villagers, women in particular, used to express family relations and emotions through cooking in the past, but they showed their love through gardening as a continuation of nurturing and giving care. Plants receive care and nurturing, while gardeners find a confirmation of success in the growth of plants; therefore, plants can give people self-confidence (Elings 2006: 52).

Third and finally, ‘gardens as heritage.’ Plants can be moved, and replicated through cloning or gathering seeds for re-sowing, which allows for the possibilities of a future re-rooting elsewhere (Macdonald 2013: 92). In addition, growing spaces and gardens have a cyclical nature, not only in terms of the seasons but also in terms of kinship and ownership. Plots are inherited, divided, abandoned, reinstated, redesigned and replanted (Jepson 2006: 161). In LN Village, a garden or a plant may be inherited from a family, a neighbour or even a previous householder.

‘The garden was created and maintained by my father in the past. See, the camellia is now in its thirties. After his death, my mother takes care of these greens’ (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

There are plenty of beautiful flowers in my eldest son’s yard. All of them are transferred from here in my garden’ (Mr Chang, interview, 15 October, 2009).

‘Below my garden is the Miao’s house. They moved out and rented it out to the new tenants. These vegetables in polystyrene containers here were first cultivated by a tenant’s wife from mainland China. After

her husband's death she moved out as well, so I carried on growing them' (Mr Xu, interview, 16 July, 2010).

'I have an old sweet olive, which I inherited from the old lady after she moved out. Then I bought a ceramic pot for it, and now it thrives like this. Look, the stalk of it is so thick that it breaks the pot' (Mrs Guo, interview, 12 March, 2010).

For historical reasons, most quartered Chinese diaspora, or *Juancun Waishengren*, have no direct relations to landownership in Taiwan; their relationship to the land (or at least the potted earth) is created by attending to trees and potted plants in their garden. The only way to keep this relationship is to keep these plants, either by transplanting them into real land of their own, or transferring them to inheritors. The mobility of the potted plants allows for more possibility of passing them on to the next generation, but unfortunately only a few young people have any interest in gardening. If having significant possessions that children or grandchildren are willing to take over can provide a sense of familial self-continuity that extends beyond death (Belk 1990), the first-generation diaspora Chinese face the grave challenge of discontinuity.

Figures



Figure 91: Mrs Qian's potted plants can be categorized into four groups, such as protecting and rooting, feeding and sharing, demanding and taking, and growing and exchanging



Figure 92: Once thriving and flourishing, Mrs Chen's garden is now minimally maintained after she lost her leg in a car accident



Figure 93: Mr Xu's vegetable garden was inherited from the tenant's wife of his neighbour, Mr Miao

5.1.3 Seeing the rockery as the world

Amongst dozens of gardens studied in this research, four in particular had prominent rockeries. The Chang's roof and front gardens were the most impressive ones of all. Mr Chang, the village head in his eighties, had collected rocks, corallites and plants for more than 40 years; his relationship with these objects was deep and meaningful. Mr Chang's roof garden contained potted rhododendrons (杜鵑), *Matthiola* (紫羅蘭), lodgepole pines (黑松), cypresses (柏樹), and Tonkin jasmine (夜來香), and a few Chinese banyans (榕樹) grew on the rocks. In addition, ceramic figurines and various forms of rocks were arranged in a specific way and displayed. 'Look! The shapes and forms of the plants and rocks are adorable. You can see various figures from different angles,' Mr Chang genuinely admired his own collection (Interview, 15 October, 2009). Two foci are discussed below: 'setting plants and rock collections' and 'a home in the world.'

As to 'setting plants and rock collections,' all rocks were collected by Mr Chang from Taiwan and beyond. 'Some of them are from the mountains, others from the sea,' Mr Chang explained. 'Each one is collected for a reason.' Rocks were bought at markets in Keelung, gathered along the rocky seacoast of Wanli, in North-eastern Taiwan, and in Hsinchu, where he lives, and obtained from Lamay Island (Taiwan's only large coral island) and the Three Gorges and Lake Tai in mainland China, as well as being picked up in the ghost town near Las Vegas. Mr Chang's corallites were remnants of construction materials brought back from Pratas Islands, where he and his colleagues stayed for months while building an airport there.

'Each object has its own placement according to my design. But I haven't been up here for a few weeks because of the accident which resulted in a pelvic fracture and kept me from walking up here. My wife didn't know their right positions and messed up the order; she only watered the potted plants and forgot to take care of those smaller greens on rocks,' Mr Chang used a water ladle to drench both potted plants and rocks in the roof garden that overlooked Lane 51, the village border. Moistened and soaked in water, the rocks glinted and looked as if their

surfaces were alive. Walking up to the top of the house and spending time with these potted plants and rocks had become part of Mr Chang's daily routine for many years.

On a windy afternoon, when the sound of the wind whistled louder than conversation during the interview recording, surrounded by jagged rocks and ceramic figurines on top of the two-storey house, anyone standing here would feel the special atmosphere: the roof garden was a portal to the world. During the interview, Mr Chang constantly referred his gardens to places he visited before:

'I've visited many mountains and waters: waterfalls in Yosemite National Parks, the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, and those renowned Chinese gardens. I imagine those trees, pavilions, bridges and streams are in my gardens' (Mr Chang, interview, 15 October, 2009).

While plants, rocks, pebbles, seashells and figurines dominated the roof garden, banyan bonsai trees on corallites were central to Mr Chang's front rockery garden. 'I fill rock crevices with soil and then plant banyan bonsai trees in rocks. A few months or a year later, the plants take roots. After that, I remove the soil; the banyan tree and the rock therefore becomes one.' Mr Chang expounded the reason why he grew plants on rocks. 'I've been to the Yellow Mountain in China three times in my life, and I remember that all pines grow on rocks and they look especially magnificent' (Interview, 21 July, 2010).¹²⁴ In 2010, the biggest banyan tree on the rock in Mr Chang's garden was more than fifty years old, an age reflective of his settling down in LN Village. The banyan tree and Mr Chang may be literally mutually constitutive after years of seedling, watering, caring, cutting, pruning, root reduction, potting, defoliation, and grafting. By Mr Chang's keen

¹²⁴ The Yellow Mountain (*Huangshan*) is well known for its scenery, sunsets, peculiarly shaped granite peaks, Huangshan pine trees and views of the clouds from above. *Huangshan* is a frequent subject of traditional Chinese paintings and literature, as well as modern photography. It is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and one of China's major tourist destinations.

demonstration of how everyday cultivation is done, the properties of things stem from the material and sensual qualities they have acquired, or are thought to have acquired, through processes made invisible by their completion (Coupaye 2009: 106).

As plants and rocks described here, there are more to be ponder. Thinking about 'a home in the world':

'I became fond of rocks in Taiwan and fostered interest in them in the 1960s. I was first amazed by the rock formations in Yehliu.¹²⁵ As a military vehicle driver, I drove officers to many places including plant nurseries. I saw their gardens too. They are members of higher classes and have well-rounded lives. So after marriage in 1954, I finally have a home. And I started my own garden in 1961' (Mr Chang, interview, 21 July, 2010).

Members of lower classes commonly strived to emulate the taste and practices of higher classes. However, for Mr Chang, 'feelings' were key to his passion for rockery gardening.

'I feel really good at looking at those mountains and waters [in China and in the U.S.]. After visiting those places around the world, I created the rockery garden at home. It's like a park in my courtyard. Though it is incommensurable with the real scenery, it makes my life meaningful and widens my mind' (Mr Chang, interview, 15 October, 2009, and 21 July, 2010).

Most of Mr Chang's rocks abound in imagery. There are figures of a warplane, a combat vehicle, a fort, a pagoda, a pyramid, a monkey and a lion in his rockery

¹²⁵ Yehliu is a cape on the north coast of Taiwan between Taipei and Keelung. It is known by geologists as the Yehliu Promontory, part of the Taliao Miocene Formation.

garden. A clump of moss may be representative of a pine, a meadow a forest, and a tuft of grass a thicket. 'This is a Bodhisattva Guanyin statue in the mountains,' Mr Chang pointed to a bodhisattva figurine on the rock, and added, 'There is a giant Buddha in the Sichuan province in China, built hundreds of years ago' (Mr Chang, interview, 21 July, 2010).¹²⁶ The figurine was saved by Mr Chang from his neighbours' garbage. The banyan bonsai trees and the jagged rocks open up an entire world. 'The details of a thing can be the sign of a new world which, like all worlds, contains the attributes of greatness' (Bachelard 1994: 155).

The plants, figurines and rocks contained by these gardens were not only used to kill time, but also to create a sense of tranquillity, and a place for considering the state of their present life and beyond. The unusual handmade rockery created by the late Mr Lu particularly exemplifies melancholy and a space filled with loss and suffering. The corallites were adhered to one another with cement and form a giant piece of amateur artwork. Figurines, seashells, decorative bridges, and potted plants were carefully placed and attached to the corallites. It has become a rockery mirror which one can stand before and immerse themselves in its imagery, a miniature world in which to contemplate oneself.

¹²⁶ The Leshan Giant Buddha was built during the Tang Dynasty (618–907AD). It is carved out of a cliff face that lies at the confluence of the Minjiang, Dadu and Qingyi rivers in the southern part of Sichuan province in China, near the city of Leshan.

Figures



Figure 94: Mr Chang's rockery garden (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 95: Mr Chang's collection of rocks, figurines and more in his roof garden



Figure 96: Mr Chang's rockery garden: the Chinese Bayan tree growing on a corallite and a ceramic canon nearby (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 97: The 'monkey' rock (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 98: Handmade rockery created by the late Mr Lu (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

5.1.4 Section summary

[T]hey [yams] are materialised moments when properties acquired from wider processes of materialisation can be engaged with through consumption or use. They also offer an insight about how certain categories of objects can be considered not as bounded entities, but as shifting ones that have the ability to generate new sets of relations, to have agency (Coupaye 2009: 105).

I have sought to show how those who have been exiled from the vast mainland China might find a new world in their gardens on a small island like Taiwan. The accumulation of potted plants and rockery of various forms is not purely about storage; this is another form of storage, the one that accumulates things in their fullness of shape and diversity, and which is gilded with the patina of relationship from the Qian's front garden to the Guo's sweet olive, from the Chou's roof garden to the Chen's terrace garden, and, finally, from the Chang's rockery garden to the Lu's corallite artwork (cf. Appendix 3). The vegetable and flower pot

gardens might originate from a reaction to the lack of green space, similar to that in Tokyo, but these plants can be seen more as living evidence of security (childhood memory), love (resources), and friendship (social network). Plants achieve meaning through their life history, exchange and the human activities that make them significant. Certain species with particular characteristics, such as Chinese banyan trees, seem better able to be used for expressing certain modes of identity. By taking roots on rocks after months or years of cultivation, they achieve greater significance for individual or group identities; a focus of human identity is provided by plants.

In LN Village, a military dependents' village, 'within relations' had been first stressed due to the official ranks between male householders; 'between relations' were later of primary significance because of households as units of exchange. In the first instance, the social order was constituted through the groups, while in the second it was constituted through exchanges between them. Social relations are made manifest through action such as growing trees and attending to the greens.

5.2 Inhabiting Places: the Nooks and Crannies

Places are dynamic fields of action, both acted upon and active, and the physical places are freighted with the stories that people tell about them (Kaul 2011: 240). Bodily activities, such as constructing, inhabiting and traveling, build places (Casey 1993: 116). Times are carried to places through our movements and prior experiences, and direct contact with these places acts as a mnemonic trigger for stories and the construction of personal biographies (Tilley 2004: 26). Through habit and inhabiting, people build up a practical mastery of the fundamental schemes of their culture (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 2). In the following paragraphs, the space and time of the village in the past and present is outlined by LN villagers' oral testimonies, while details in these village places are made manifest by embodied experiences of my fieldwork.

5.2.1 A general view

This subsection is seen through four parts: 'wandering in the village,' 'watching the village,' 'the labyrinthine village,' and 'materials and layouts.'

'I get up at six in the morning every day. After breakfast and my morning nap, I always go for a ramble in the village – back and forth in the lanes. Because everyone knows me, if needed, people would walk me home. I can move freely around this place with my eyes closed since I've been living here for decades' (Mr Sun, interview, 13 July, 2010).

It is true that Mr Sun, a veteran aged eighty-nine, can wandering in the village and move freely with his eyes closed. He lost his sight a couple years ago, but his body remembers almost every nook and cranny of the village. I ran into him several times during my fieldwork between 2009 and 2010, when he strolled steadily like anyone non-visually impaired. 'I have a good memory for places; I remember well all pits and bumps in the ground,' Mr Sun proudly smiled, 'So I take my second walk after a siesta, and then greet acquaintances at the pavilion on the edge of the village. I enjoy chatting with people who sit in front of their houses throughout the journey.' Many other villagers walk around the village every day, just as Mr Sun does. Daily passages through the nooks and crannies become biographic encounters for villagers to recall traces of past neighbours and previous events. A comprehensive view is constructed in the mind rather than the eye (Adams 2001: 195).

A walk is always a combination of places and times – seasonal and social times; movement through space constructs 'spatial stories', forms of narrative understanding (Tilley 1994: 28). Walking through a place involves getting to know that place through sight, hearing, touch, smell, and proprioception; these various sensations to a person 'are the basis of a close connection to place and are likely to be recalled with great fondness when one thinks back on the places one has loved' (Adams 2001: 188). It is a kind of ritual whereby a Chinese settler like Mr Sun attunes himself bodily and mentally with the universe, and especially with the 'hometown' of his half-century residence. The movement through the environ-

ment causes 'a kind of rhythmic harmonization, producing a heightened sensitivity to the environment, as well as a heightened or special sense of self' (*ibid* 2001: 193). However, Mr Sun's sensitivity to the village, and the responsive feedback from neighbours, allows him to orient himself so well that people sometimes forget the fact that he is blind in both eyes.¹²⁷

In a modern mobile world, the individual has suffered a form of tactile crisis in that motion has helped desensitized the body (Sennett 1994: 256). The case of Mr Sun shows us that circulation and sensory awareness can be complementary rather than contradictory in a small community. The peripatetic frame created both in memory and mind of the LN villagers invites contemplation of the place ; this anti-linear (or anti-modern) sense of place is not captured all at once, through a quasi-omniscient perspective, but only over time (Adams 2001: 194).

In addition to time, the social contact is important for the community, since the trust of a village is formed over time from everyday contacts: it grows out of people stopping by at the noodle shop for a quick bite or a taste of childhood, greetings and advice from the elderly at chit-chat corner, complaining to fellow villagers about family problems, hanging around with other teenagers in the car park while waiting to be called for dinner, admonishing children and sometimes chasing after them, hearing about a job from a neighbour, bidding in the loan club in order to pay children's tuition fees,¹²⁸ admiring new babies, and walking with toddler grandchildren. Therefore, walking in the village can be interpreted as wandering, talking, and living.

¹²⁷ The sense of self will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹²⁸ The loan club, or the rotating savings and credit association, is a group of individuals who agree to meet for a defined period in order to save and borrow together. 'In LN Village, women are major members of the loan club. It is not uncommon that someone absconds with money' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

Mr Sun is not the only one who is so familiar with this place and people here. Other residents, including many of my interviewees, are able to delineate most parts of the village and terraced houses in the vicinity, as well as weekly routines and daily schedules of their neighbours. A diminishing yet recognisable sense of community is still shared among most villagers, and therefore any stranger entering the village is instantly under watch by certain householders. Mrs Bian, my landlady, is undoubtedly the most noticeable of them.

During most of the daytime, eighty-two-year old Mrs Bian lingers at the red gate of her house and watches people come and go, or watching the village, by either settling herself on the round stool in the doorway on sunny and rainy days (to avoid sunburn and being soaked) or sitting against the wall of the house opposite hers under an overcast sky (which is mild and pleasant). Owing to the fact that one of her house gates is always left open when Mrs Bian is home, many couriers who find difficulty in locating an addressee in the neighbourhood often end up here for directions. There were times that I became an interpreter between the deliveryman and Mrs Bian, due to her strong South East China accent in Mandarin.¹²⁹

Mrs Bian greets neighbours and people passing by in front of her house. This is her daily routine. When a stranger shows up near her house, she is never too shy to ask him or her, 'Whom are you visiting?' or 'What are you here for?' Though she is an old lady with a hump, her voice is always loud and full of confidence. 'They are from here (or not),' Mrs Bian tries to tell me about every person I met around her house. It is clear that there is not only a language barrier,¹³⁰ but also a

¹²⁹ Mandarin has been the official language of Taiwan since the arrival of the Chinese Nationalist government in 1945, and is currently spoken by the vast majority in northern Taiwan. In the central and southern areas, the younger generations speak Mandarin, the middle-aged speak both, and the older ones speak primarily Taiwanese. Prior to 1945, the majority spoke Japanese, the formerly official language, and their mother tongues such as Hoklo, Hakka, and aboriginal languages.

¹³⁰ Almost every Taiwanese speaks Mandarin, the official language of Taiwan.

mental boundary between *Juancun*, i.e. the village of soldiers and their families, and its surrounding communities.¹³¹

The unique sense of community is also felt by younger villagers, for example, through the labyrinthine village. Xiao Bian, grandson of my landlady, who is in his twenties and two generations removed from immigration, once recalled that the village was the best place to hide when playing the game 'The Police Chasing Thieves' with his friends in childhood. 'For outsiders, our village is a labyrinth of passages, but we sons and daughters of the village know it like the backs of our hands.' I cannot agree with him more about the maze-like hamlet consisting of terraced houses and compounds, between which are the meandering lanes that swell and shrink along the way, and change their width at every turn.¹³² The narrow roads here are hedged not by trees but by old brick walls, on which time draws lines of the universe: cracks in bricks and climbers on walls are discerned by non-villagers as the residents' lasting dwelling, while the inhabitants grow up and age alongside these inconspicuous corners where they can abide. 'Those who are not familiar with the village could even lose themselves in these mazy alleys,' said another second-generation villager (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September, 2009), whose casual talk reminded me of my personal experiences of building materials and layouts in the first few weeks after my arrival.

The intertwining roads and footpaths have gradually grown and developed over time. LN Village was not built in a day. It had been first built from the remnant materials left over from Hsinchu Airport's construction by the Air Force Engineering Wing in the early 1950s, and this humble beginning was followed by piecemeal addition and expansion in the 1960s. In 1954, 60 terraced houses

¹³¹ The blogger komillus wrote, 'When I wandered around the village that morning, four villagers inquired where I was from. Unfriendliness from the local residents made me really uncomfortable' (komillus, 2011).

¹³² The broadest lane of the village is about four meters (13 feet) wide and the width of the narrowest alley is less than one meter (3 feet).

were built by the government for the married officers and soldiers of the first and second battalion; in 1957, more houses, each of which measured three meters wide and six meters long, were added to accommodate 169 families. The final and the greatest change of the spatial forms was made in 1975, remodelling many brick houses into reinforced concrete erections of two or three storeys at the villagers' own expense (Li 2006).

The original houses were badly constructed due to meagre resources after World War II: the size of a house was approximately 23 square meters (for an officer with his family) and 20 square meters (for a soldier with dependents). Each unit had no toilet, shower, kitchen, or tap water, and was comprised only of a ground floor containing a sitting room/diner and a bedroom.¹³³ The framework of the house was made of wood; the cement floor was soft and prone to chipping and the roof tiles were fragile. Sunlight regularly poured indoors through broken roof tiles on bright days and the holes leaked drizzle when it rained. Around the house, fences were wattled with split bamboo, and were later termed 'Bamboo Fences' to signify the *juancun*, and those households within it. This became a visual symbol for perseverance (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010; Li 2006).

¹³³ Several public lavatories were built in the village at the same time for all settlers' use. This will be discussed in 5.2.3.

Figures



Figure 99: Mrs Bian sitting on her round stool in the shadow of her neighbour's house and watching a stranger walking toward the inner village (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)



Figure 100: A typical narrow alley of LN Village (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

5.2.2 The main entrance

This subsection is thought through two topics: ‘the gateway arch’ and ‘the “head” of the village.’

As is the case with Chinatowns worldwide, the main entrance to the LN Village was once marked by a gateway arch on Lane 14. In the beginning, a pair of brick gateposts 150 cm high, bearing the four Chinese characters of Loyalty New Village, demonstrated the existence of the village. The gateposts were subsequently replaced by a gateway arch made of an iron frame provided by the local community development association in order to make the entrance grander.¹³⁴ The couplets on the two columns of the arch read ‘Filled with loyalty to our country and indignation at enemy, while patriotically pledging to regain possession of lost territory’.¹³⁵ The arch was later unexpectedly removed due to road renovation. On 25 March 2005, a rock stele acting as a boundary tablet, and inscribed with ‘Loyalty New Village’ and new couplets on its front and a brief village history on the back, was unveiled by Mr Junq-tzer Lin (林政則), the mayor of Hsinchu City. The new couplets show a refreshing vision, ‘Splendid military exploits bring peace and stability to the country, while our loyalty helps us get along with neighbours and make families flourish’.¹³⁶ It can be said that LN villagers’ wish today is no different from those of the past even after decades of settlement (Li 2006).

¹³⁴ One of many reasons of replacing the brick gateposts was that the village assembly hall was to be renamed to the JG community centre, which would be open to all residents of JG Borough rather than the LN villagers only.

¹³⁵ Zhong Fen Man Qiang Kun Huai Jia Guo, Zhen Xin Yi Pian Shi Fu He Shan (忠憤滿腔悵懷家國，貞心一片誓復河山).

¹³⁶ The new couplets were authored by Mr Xinzhi Yang: Jun Gong Biao Bing An Bang Ding Guo, Zhong Zhen Liang Jie Mu Lin Xing Jia (軍功彪炳安邦定國，忠貞亮節睦鄰興家).

Since houses are frequently thought of as bodies, sharing with them a common anatomy and a common life history; people make houses in their own image, and they use these houses and house-images to construct themselves as individuals and as groups (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 3). Many metaphors are grounded in the body and in mental images of the world based on bodily experience. For the Dogon of Mali, the village is a person lying north-south, smithy at its head, shrines at its feet (Tilley 2004: 22). In LN Village, Lane 14 is the first passage of the community, with the entrance at its south end. It is often referred to as 'the head of the village' (*cun zi tou*, 村子頭), from which village passages extend in all directions (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September and 10 December, 2009). The community centre (previously known as village assembly hall) is only seconds away from the boundary tablet, behind which stands Chang's Noodle Shop. It is literally 'the head of the village' because the recognizable 'face' (the boundary tablet), the brain (the community centre) and the taste buds (the noodle shop) are all here.

The boundary tablet sees heavy traffic on the thoroughfare in the daytime, and a stream of people in the varicoloured world of night. 'After dinner, I come here to sit against the stele either by myself or with a neighbour or two. On the plinth we either have a chat or quietly watch incessant streams of traffic and pedestrians. I enjoy being here because it's boring to stay alone with the television inside the house' (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009). The village's desire of being part of where it crouches is so genuine that even what may be seen from the main entrance belongs to it.

Figures



Figure 101: The boundary tablet inscribed with 'Loyalty New Village' and new couplets on its front, 11 June, 2009 (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2009)

5.2.3 Intimately public space

Apart from the main entrance, this subsection looks at intimately public space such as 'streets and public lavatories,' 'chat corner and community centre,' 'karaoke room,' and 'car park.'

In the village which started as the aggregation of household units with very limited indoor space, public space was indispensable to the villagers' everyday lives. Though most rooms in the house later became spacious and empty following the second generation leaving home for work and marriage, houses were relatively static. First-generation villagers continued to keep their lifestyle of 'living on the street'. Much of their time is spent between buildings rather than in them; it is mainly in the public space that the dynamics of everyday community life, sometimes even family life, are played out.

Lanes and alleys in a fishbone pattern had been the stage where every man, woman and child in the village played a role before its decline in the 1990s. Most terraced houses were sandwiched between a major lane at the front door and a back alley to their rear. These were the places of encountering neighbours and chitchatting (Li 2006). 'We were greeted by neighbours right after stepping out of our doors,' said Mrs Pan. 'In those days, with few cars running around, we enjoyed bringing our stools out through the back doors into the alley to relax and talk with one another on summer evenings.' Before the bamboo-wattled fences around the houses were built, only a handful of households had radio sets in their living rooms. Female settlers in the village used to gather in front of those houses to listen to radio plays on the street, while producing hairnets and embroideries for shoes in the 1970s (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Streets are also where election campaigns take place. 'When the challenging candidate of the borough originating from the other village came to our street canvassing in our village, we had to take our flags out and anti-canvass right after him,' the mother of the current chief of the borough said, vividly describing the circumstance to me (Mrs Fang, interview, 13 July, 2010). For the LN villagers, the streets were true living space, not only because of the good use to which they were made, but because inhabitants took care of them. I once saw Mrs Chou, a thrifty and introverted housekeeper, sweep the lane in front of her house in the early morning of the new year, while swinging her broom on the asphalt with the tender gesture of a mother, as if the road was the soiled skin of the baby earth which returned her to the olden days and reconnected her with the land of memory.

After the village was built, during the first few years no toilets or showers were included in each house. Thus two latrine pits were constructed in the village and a few bathhouses were operated by the local people. 'It was an unforgettable experience for all of us waiting in the long queue before rushing to work or school every morning!' It could become unacceptably smelly after a rainy day due to blocked drainage and spill over of faecal sewage (Li 2006). The wait, the smell, and the relief after using the public lavatory is one of many collectively embodied

memories shared by the LN villagers, which consolidate their identity as a community through thick and thin.

Contrasting with modern high-rising apartments filled with inhabitants who seldom greet their neighbours, there were three constant chat corners where villagers clustered together for greetings, sharing, and exchanging ideas in the village. The largest chat corner was around the corner of Mrs Bian's house; the other two were near Mr Ma's and Mrs Xu's houses. They were all located at corners where three lanes or alleys converge. 'When our children were young, we were too busy to chat. Not until they grew up and started their own family did we begin this regular daily chat' Mrs Pan explained (Interview, 29 September, 2009). 'If someone does not show up [at the chat corner] for a few days, we would try to visit her and find out what happens,' Mrs Qian said (Personal conversation, 21 January, 2010).

For Warnier (2001: 17), speech or words provide abstract means of recalling events, facts, images, ideas and communicating them, while for villagers before and today, talk was and is the most efficient means of gaining information about the community, the periodical elections, or about the impending eviction. However, chat corners may sometimes become the breeding ground of vicious slander. Some villagers therefore preferred keeping a distance from it or listening without speaking. At chat corners, many activities happened at once: people sitting on the benches or stools, talking in little knots at the same time concerning different topics from their dreams the night before to the headline news today. No one voice generally dominated the whole.

To the contrary, people sit still and listen to a single, sustained voice in the community centre of the village. When the centre was the village assembly hall, it was used to host a variety of social/political events such as the Chinese New Year Gathering, Memorial Day of Late President Chiang Kai-shek (5 April), Day Double Tenth (National Day on 10th October), the Birthday of Late President Chiang Kai-shek (31st October), and the Birthday of National Father Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (12th November). Now it is seen more as a venue of weekly activities for

the elderly (for example, health lectures and handicraft workshops) and the voting station once every few years. People only congregate here on the morning of the Chinese New Year once every year and the number of the participants are declining quickly due to the aging and shrinking population.

While the community centre recedes into the background, the LN Kindergarten comes to the fore. The LN Kindergarten was established in the 1960s, but was shut down in the 1990s (Mrs Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009). It was the alma mater of most second-generation villagers, and was left unused until around the year 2000, when Mrs Pan suggested adapting the two kindergarten classrooms for playing mahjong, newspaper reading, and karaoke after her visit to relatives by marriage in a *juancun* in north-west Hsinchu City, where people entertained themselves by playing mahjong, singing karaoke and sharing food.¹³⁷ The suggestion was then accepted by Mr Chang, the LN Village head, and therefore the mahjong room and the karaoke ballroom were set up.

Every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoon, music lovers and dancers of LN Village and its neighbouring communities attend the Karaoke Club.¹³⁸ Though the majority of members are female Chinese diaspora, songs in Mandarin (spoken by most Chinese) and Hoklo (one of a few mother tongues of native Taiwanese) are sung, and various types of dances (Cha-cha-cha, Jitterbug, and Rumba) are enjoyed. Barriers between different genders, ethnicities and communities are crossed three times a week within a classroom remodelled into a ballroom. The kindergarten brings memories of the first-generation villagers and those of the second generation into one place.

¹³⁷ Mahjong is a game commonly played by four players. It is similar to the Western card game rummy, and is a game of skill, strategy, calculation and a certain degree of chance. It is a favourite pastime in *juancun* and other Chinese-speaking communities.

¹³⁸ Apart from the Karaoke Club (卡拉 ok 歌唱班), there are other clubs in the community, such as, the Watchman Guards (守望相助巡守隊), Yuanji Dance Club (元極舞班), the Folk Dance Club (舞蹈研習班), Gateball Club (槌球隊) and the Mountaineering Club (登山健行社) (Fang 2000a).

While the former kindergarten is now the activity centre for the elderly, the car park is the hub of the young, as well as a memory of youth. It currently acts as the children's playground during the day and the teenagers' hang out location at night. 'Kids love to play there after school; it is also where my grandchildren set off firecrackers during the Chinese New Year' Mrs Chen recalled (Interview, 19 March, 2010). 'This is the place for kids, there used to be more children playing here,' Mrs Qian sighed with emotion (Interview, 8 January, 2010). Before the car park was created, it was an open ground with a white blank wall at its north side for an outdoor cinema operated by the government. The wall was later replaced with the pavilion (Mr Yen, interview, 30 September, 2009). The villagers moved around the neighbourhood by foot in the 1950s, by bikes in the 1960s, and by motorcycles after 1970s. Cars were not common until the 1990s, and a car park was built thereafter (Li 2006).¹³⁹

'In the olden days of no or few televisions,' said Mr Yen, a second-generation villager from a neighbouring village who is married to the grocer's daughter of LN Village, 'we brought our own stools to the outdoor cinema. Those first-comers took the front areas while the later-comers got the back' (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009). It was the weekly ritual of not only the village but also of neighbouring communities. When their work was over, they were in a position to enjoy spirit-lifting recreation. It was, again, an opportunity to meet neighbours, friends, and future partners in the village. The LN villagers might even have thought of the weekly cinema as being the very core of their civic lives, rather than seeing it as a relaxation from business.

¹³⁹ 'Until Mrs Bian's daughter in law was elected as the councillor and acquired funding for creating the car park, it had have been rugged and rough land' (Mrs Qian, interview, 8 January, 2010).

Figures



Figure 102: Mrs Chou sweeping the lane before her house in the early morning of the New Year, 26 February, 2010 (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2010)



Figure 103: The elderly gathering around chat corner and Mrs Jia greeting a second-generation villager on a scooter, 5 March, 2010 (Source: Yang-Yi KUO, 2010)



Figure 104: Singing and dancing in the Karaoke Club, 20 August, 2009



Figure 105: Children playing dodge ball in the car park, 22nd January, 2011

5.2.4 Section summary

Practices of local subjects in specific neighbourhoods create locality (Appadurai 1996: 198-199). Walking, watching, talking and living in public space is the medium and outcome of a spatial practice, a mode of existence in the world. As we have seen in this section, overlapping memories and palimpsest experiences play key roles in LN villagers' lives. Present times are always enmeshed in drifting nets of the old days. Recollections are therefore maintained and sometimes revived through collective living in the village where material culture is employed to express feelings and resolve problems.

5.3 Summary

In a village where 'souls were mixed with things and lives were mingled together' (Mauss 2002: 25-26), one had to look to the incorporated dispositions, or, more precisely, the body schema, to find the ordering principle capable of orienting practices in a way that is at once unconscious and systematic (Bourdieu 1990: 10). Through a description of the plants and places of the community, I aim to show how setting things and socialising was perceived to help resolve difficulties in aging villagers' lives, not only because of its providing an escape from loss and loneliness, but also of villagers feeling alive from their integration within an environment of soil, cycles of growth, home-produced vegetables, and regular human contact. This chapter also shows the importance of plants and places that are considered ordinary by outsiders yet lie at the heart of the thought and practices of their growers and users. The role of these objects and space in non-verbal communication is demonstrated. Their physical properties and material implementation are wordless expressions of fundamental aspects of a way of living and thinking, as well as sometimes being the only means of expressing the inexpressible. In this case, trees, potted plants and public space are the keys.

First, trees are viewed both as containers of latent values to be released with subjective interpretations (the Fang's tree as a parallel for residents or the Chou's tree as a symbol of lost family), and active producers of meaning which, by their

very existence either in village lots or someone's courtyard, shape human understanding of being in the world (Mr Chang's wish of thriving *juancun*). Second, pot gardens in LN Village, which were never intended to be permanent and are now faced with impending eviction, were perhaps thought of as packed luggage on the go, full of memories, affection and dreams. Villagers seemed to learn and to internalize gardening as a cyclical activity, following the seasons of each year. Through gardening, time could be experienced as cyclical rather than linear, encouraging gardeners to see living forms in new ways and transforming their sense of their own personal histories. 'Thus processes of growing plants, human growth and self-realization were symbolic in the garden' (Jepson 2014). The gardens are evidence of individual achievement which overcomes the melancholy of displacement, showing that, indeed, individuals can bring about a change. Third, further evidence is presented thanks to the public space where a great many of villagers' memories are perched. A lane corner, a boundary tablet, nooks and pathways, these were all refuges of their lives that are all clearly delineated. These were places where the Chinese diaspora daydreams lingered. Places and landscapes produce spaces and times in relation to the bodies that inhabit, move around and use them. Places gather together persons, memories, structures, histories, myths and symbols (Tilley 2004: 25).

Chapter 6 Lost Homelands Reinvented

An anthropology whose objects are no longer conceived as automatically and naturally anchored in space will need to pay particular attention to the way spaces and places are made, imagined, contested, and enforced (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 17-18).

There are multiple ways of dwelling in the place, and some of them challenge dominant frameworks. Since traditional ideas about settling in a place are ill suited for thinking about the situation of diaspora, this chapter opens the possibility of other kinds of being-in-the-world based not only on property but also on emotional attachments to place, and corporeal and imaginative engagement with the environment. In residing, we rely on the body's capacity for forming 'habit memories' formed by slow sedimentation and realized by the re-enactment of bodily motions (Casey 1993: 116); the act of remembering always occurs in and through the body, and in the present, especially in displaced settings (Dudley 2013: 8). The human body is a way of relating to and perceiving the world (Saunders 2002: 197).

Compared to past contexts, in which experiential analysis of space was often concentrated on the visual and tactile aspects of human engagements with places, previous chapters have demonstrated that our understanding of place is significantly enhanced by various senses. However, a comprehensive view is constructed in the mind (Adams 2001: 195), and the role of memory in everyday experience is the key. Due to the fact that every town and city across China has changed beyond recognition over a half century of drastic communist revolution and then rapid marketization since the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the original idea of monotone homeland China, for the diaspora community in LN Village, has gone forever. However, the ideal homeland continues to live on in the group in order to live again with supplements of living – recollections not only from China but also from Taiwan and other parts of the world – all grounded in the embodied nature of experience in a material world. Since these supplements vary from person to person, the conceptually common homeland is transformed

into homologous homelands. There is not 'one China' but there are 'many Chinas' in people's minds. By displaying three dimensions of mind operation, I outline practices of these homelands in the making:

The first is retrospection, capturing the diaspora as a place of manifold histories, and forged through daily encounters and multiple bittersweet experiences. The second dimension, superimposition, marks the spatial and temporal openness of the villagers' homelands in their minds. The third notes the community as being an organic group with tropism, which carries imprints from the past, the daily tracks of movement across, and links beyond the visible village boundary. Besides being defined by immediate circumstances, people are defined by their pasts and futures (Belk 1990). From a phenomenological perspective, every social act is permeated with memory (Olick et al. 2011: 37). Reviewing, remembering, and expecting are accompanied by the shadow of imagining, which allows for the possibility of remaking homelands. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into the history of migration and its impacts, all this attention makes *juancun* a densely storied place, where homelands of the Chinese diaspora are retrieved, rooted, and then reinvented. The chapter aims to better describe the effect which descriptions have on one another, and 'that one description is always interpreted in the company of others and nothing is in that sense by itself' (Strathern 1999: xi-ii).

6.1 Retrospection: Reflecting on Life

How can we gain insights into what lives of diaspora communities are like today with the help from reflection on the lives in the past and present? Apart from the memories of places, some of the feelings (frustrations and aspirations) and circumstances (tragedies and delights) of LN Village are exemplified in this section. Retrospection allows the villagers to review their lives in Taiwan. It helps to discard the idea of the diaspora as a rootless and unanchored pattern of existence, helping in turn to see a myriad other facets of dwelling in the reinvented homelands, both individual and collective. An understanding of retrospection reveals the mix of lives: misery is the presence of experiences inscribed in bodies

symbolizing the painfully unique trajectory, which in a new way redefine the community, while happiness represents recognition and satisfaction of present life in Taiwan at the expense of all hardness ever overcome.

6.1.1 Misery

Speaking of 'misery' in LN Village, three issues are meant to be described and discussed: 'war memories,' 'suffering,' and 'self-destruction.'

There are manifolds of sadness in the lives within LN Village: war memories, all kinds of hardships of raising children, the difficult socio-economic situation, and, for the vulnerable some, the struggle between life and death. LN villagers' migration had been one of hope with heavy cost, before being one of contentment. Prior to the Chinese diaspora fleeing to Taiwan, most of them had borne witness to horrors in wars, from the Chinese civil war (April 1927 – May 1950) to the Second Sino-Japanese War (July 1937 – September 1945). War memories of the LN villagers were repressed and not explicitly shared to me, except for one interviewee, who told me what she observed before and after Nanking Massacre (南京大屠殺), an episode of mass murder committed by Japanese troops against Nanking (now known as Nanjing) during the Second Sino-Japanese War:

At the age of eight [1935], air-raid alarms became part of daily life; we had to hide many times a day in the bomb shelters built by civilians. My family (except my father) and I had fled to the house of my sister's mother-in-law in the mountain, 60 kilometres away from Nanjing before the Massacre took place. It was horrifying. The Japanese army occupied the city for six weeks [from December 1937]. They killed a lot of Nanjingers. After the surrender [of the Empire of Japan on September 2, 1945], the hostilities of the [Asia-Pacific] War were brought to a close. But the Nanjingers took revenge on some of the Japanese soldiers by killing them with hoes and sickles, while others were driven to neighbouring mountains, where they had no choice but live in tents. During their stay in the mountains, some teenage boys from Nanjing bartered

food and tobacco for Japanese modern living essentials, such as mosquito screens, and then sold these items on the street. Some Nan-jingers showed sympathy for ravenous Japanese soldiers and shared food with them. A few Japanese soldiers even acquired garments from Chinese civilians to get out past checkpoints. The years between 1937 and 1945 were really difficult; my father died in that period. Our house was demolished, and nothing was left. After eight years under the Japanese rule, I learned a few words in Japanese, such as “Taberu” (吃飯, 食べる), “Baka yaro” (笨蛋, ばか野郎), “Matsu chi” (火柴, まっち), “Tabako” (香菸, たばこ), “Hayai” (快走路, 速い) (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010).

In her vivid description, we have a glimpse of the complex feelings of a survivor towards wars. For those who had been through wars, homeland China was laden with such grief that it was hard to face, and they were unable to forget it while being far away on a strange island, or to embrace it when free to return. However, after the villagers settled down in LN Village, everyday life, such as doing housework and taking care of children, rather than haunting memories of war, came to the fore.

However, everyday life has its dark side. The Chinese diaspora in Taiwan bear their sufferings during post war times. During my fieldwork year, ‘bitter’ (or suffering, *ku*, 苦) was the word that I heard from all female interviewees at all times, only few of whom mentioned ‘sweetness’ in their later lives. This repeated utterance was not simply an expression but revealed much collective value and personal reflection on past and present life.

Before my husband retired, I had to start working as a maid for the professor of National Tsing Hua University in the early morning. After work, I rushed home to cook lunch for my sons and daughters. Every time I think of the scene when the kids lined up at the front window and waited for me, my eyes brim with tears of sorrow. I suffered unbearable

hardship in my early life and endless loneliness in later years. So did Mrs Jia (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009).

I was so naïve then. I didn't feel tired or worried about everyday life, but tried my best to raise all my children. My only hope was to see them grow (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

All I wanted was to raise my kids; to see them grow up safe and sound would make me fully content. But now, from a retrospective perspective, what a fool I was! I should have pursued my own well-being rather than sacrificed all my life for my children. Though my kids are now independent and showing filial piety to me, I feel lonely. They keep sending me money but that is not what I want (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

I think we all should die at age of eighty. Living alone is tiresome. Children are busy working and not at home with me (Mrs Chou, interview, 10 December, 2009).

While difficult life, particularly with the burden of raising children, was reviewed by female villagers, the other side of the story was experienced by children and men: Self-destruction. Due to the straitened economic circumstances during those years, evening lighting in *juancun* was a luxury. The younger generation had to use the remaining oil after dinner to produce light for reading books and doing homework, therefore most children in the village suffered myopia (Li 2006). As for male villagers, many of them suffered from harmful habits, such as gambling and drinking.

Gambling became second nature to my husband, and he finally ended up in debt. I had to pay my children's tuition fees on my own through rotating savings. There were times that I had to borrow money from friends, but I repaid all my debts with half of my retirement pension. I once told my son that we owe no one anything so we would never be despised (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

My first son was inflicted with alcoholism and now is hospitalised in a veterans' home in New Taipei City (Mrs Xu, interview, 16 July, 2010).

Mr Jia, who was seriously addicted to mah-jong, died in May 1995. He attempted to commit suicide twice using detergents containing hydro-chloric acid. The first time he only hurt his throat, but he successfully killed himself after a second attempt (Mrs Jia, interview, 29 September, 2009).

Those villagers with unfavourable habits, and their families, often ended up in debt, disgraced and sometimes suffering misfortune. The most extreme case that is talked about by gossips is that of the Ma family's karmic retribution due to refusing to pay what they owed neighbours. Mrs Ma suffered apoplexy, her second son was paralyzed in hospital after a car accident, and her first son died in a road accident (hitting a utility pole on his own scooter). 'Ku', or the miseries of the Chinese diaspora and their dependents, not only outlines the way they reflect on life but also provides the bonds of uniqueness and foundations of solidarity. This great hardship and suffering distinguishes the community from others, creating a sense of homeland that brings people together and be constituted into groups. Since these are involuntarily remembered, past times are 'mysterious, powerful, unexpected and mythical' (Belk 1990), which complicate their sense of belonging (cf. Section 1.2) and provide the momentum of a complex identity (cf. Chapter 7).

6.1.2 Contentment

Contrast to those bore miseries in life, some LN villagers managed to lead their life with contentment. People live with fixations of happiness, and we comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection (Bachelard 1994: 6). For many LN villagers, days of hardship have finally passed; it is time to enjoy quality life with health and piety from their filial children, or at least life without pain. However, there is still a sense of helplessness in gratification.

My children have found jobs and settled down here in Taiwan. It's much better now than before. In the past, I used to hope of returning home to Nanjing. I don't think so anymore. The bitter part of life has passed (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010).

Everyone has to go through a difficult phase in life. Life in the past was difficult, extremely busy but not exhausting. The only objective was to raise the kids. However, I enjoyed the ever-spinning wheel of life during that period of time. I guess those days gave me my health today. I never have any physical examination. I don't want to worry about my health. I prefer muddling along with no thought of tomorrow. More than eighty years. I think I have lived long enough (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

People worship Bodhisattva for a life of health and wealth. I don't ask for that. All I want is a quick ending without being a burden on my family (Mr Yang, interview, 20 July, 2010).

Health is important to later life, but it is nothing compared to care and reverence from filial family members. I remembered well Mrs Bian's happiest moment lay in the days she was hospitalized (owing to abnormalities of the gastrointestinal tract) and surrounded by her supporting family: she smiled to her heart's content. Her long-term neighbour Mrs Chou attributed Mrs Bian's sickness to her spoiled and obstinate grandson, because 'aged people become ill if enraged' (Mrs Chou, interview, 21 January, 2010). For LN villagers, what matters is the presence of their loving family, rather than anything else, and this brings us to think about 'filial piety.'

Honour and shame, as well as misery and contentment in the village, are mainly derived from the Chinese concept of philosophy. Fei Xiaotong, one of China's finest anthropologists, once pointed out that Chinese society is clearly centred on the individual and based on networks created from relational ties linking the self with discrete categories of other individuals; it is a society in which considerations of order, not laws, predominate, which means that each person must

uphold the moral obligations of his or her network ties, to paraphrase the classic view on filial piety (*Xiaojing*, 孝經) (Hamilton and Wang, 1992: 24). Several cases are listed below:

My children showed great filial piety when I was hospitalized after the car accident which cost me one leg. They were there taking care of me. My neighbours told me that the gods treated me well because my children did not go astray and were obedient and well behaved (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).

I had difficult years earlier in my life, but I can enjoy life in comfort and happiness now with my children of filial piety (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009).

I am satisfied with my current life because my children work hard and treat me well (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009).

For many LN villagers, an ideal life is living with their children under one roof (Mrs Chou, interview, 10 December, 2009). Most villagers who shared with me their reflections on life lived lives of both misery and content. They also tried to make sense of it. For example, according to Ms Wang, the grocery owner, there were three reasons that caused her mother's loss of sight. First, her mother wept too much due to homesickness after the migration to Taiwan; second, she failed to acclimatize in her new home in LN Village; third, she consumed too much Taiwanese chilli which, compared to that produced in her hometown in Sichuan of South-West China, is too spicy (Ms Wang, interview, 30 September, 2009).

6.1.3 Section summary

Since a sense of past is essential to a sense of self since the self extends from the present material environment into both future and past times (Belk 1990), Section 6.1 reviews the retrospection of LN villagers and how they reflect on their life. Miserable or content, in China or in Taiwan, the stories people tell about themselves and places are everyday acts of knowing and owning them, there-

fore a 'telling of place' can simultaneously be an act of appropriation, a claim to ownership and belonging (Kaul 2011: 240). In order to live as normally as possible, and find meaning within it, the diaspora community seek to make the new place as familiar as possible. In doing so, they attempt to connect two zones disconnected in space (here in Taiwan and there in China), and two eras separated in time (the displaced but stable now and the pre-migration turbulent then). Retrospection, or keeping the connection in both body and mind, is a continual movement and imaginative crossing between the village and hometowns, the present and the past.

6.2 Superimposition: Rummaging in Recollection

I used the term superimposition to grasp the invisible homelands in LN villagers' minds as places of intermingling and improvisation, resulting from their porosity to the common past, as well as the varied present. Like ink wash painting, or literati painting (*shufa*, 書法), tonality and shading of memory grinds the sensorial body in places laden with stories, and leaves traces of varying density of emotion on homelands of belonging. Similarly to tireless ink wash painting artists refining their brush movement and ink flow day after day, the Chinese diaspora spend years in reimagining crooks and corners of original hometowns in minds, so as to reconnect with the land abruptly severed by Chinese Civil War and then the prolonged Cold War after World War II, all of which have unprecedented capacities to remake individuals, families, communities, nations and beyond. However, during years of nostalgia due to impossible homecoming (to China), new memories have been created through time after their arrival in Taiwan. Remembrance is a process solidified from things and spatial encounters (Tilley 1994: 27), and memory is framed in the present as much as in the past, variable rather than constant (Olick et al 2011: 18). In the following subsections, by looking into LN villagers' memories of travelling and of childhood, I demonstrate how the first and second generation migrants rummage in recollection and then piece together their transforming homelands with elements of diverse experiences.

6.2.1 China: an estranged homeland

In this subsection, three kinds of relationship between LN villagers and China are described and thought over: Reconnecting to China, disconnecting China, and touring China.

Why do the *Waishengren* strive to make journeys to China? What is it that they find among the strangeness and estrangement between them and their hometowns? The contemporary quest for roots, which is also a quest for origins, is a journey to the 'source', a response to the trauma of displacement associated with migration (Basu 2007: xi). And particularly for refugees, the sensory and ambivalent processes of remembering and imagining the pre-exile past traverse not only temporal distances but spatial ones (Dudley 2013: 9). China, for many LN villagers, is a lost home in a lost city in the mist of lost time. Not until 1988, one year after the ban on cross-strait communication was lifted in 1987, could Mrs Fang and her family finally 'return home' to Nanjing City. However, unfortunately her husband didn't make it; he died before that. 'He once said that he would have done anything to be home in mainland China, even if he had to crawl,' Mrs Fang sighed. Mrs Bian's husband didn't make it either. He passed away in his house in Taiwan, when Mrs Bian was visiting her home in Yunnan Province, south-west China. 'Both Mr Bian and my husband missed their home so much, but sadly they failed to visit their homeland by a narrow margin,' Mrs Fang told me (Interview, 23 April, 2010).

Mr and Mrs Zheng were, on the contrary, fortunate in reconnecting to China. Mr Zheng was healthy back then, and visited to his home in China a few times; his sister-in-law and her children were still there in his hometown of Zhejiang, South-East China. In the late 1980s, after visiting her four brothers and two sisters in Yunnan Province in South-West China, Mrs Zheng started to tour China once every year or two, and she has made twelve return trips (Mrs Zheng, interview, 17 December, 2009). Mrs Bian and Mrs Zheng are not only current neighbours in Taiwan but were also past acquaintances long ago, in small towns near Kunming (昆明), the capital and largest city in Yunnan province. Their fam-

ily in Yunnan even became friends following their homecoming visits in the late 1980s (Mrs Zheng, interview, 14 July, 2010).

Almost every LN villager made a trip to China; however, the majority of recon-nections were short-lived. Mr Yang's account below may explain why this is common. After the ban had been lifted, Mr Yang, his father's favourite son, re-turned to China a dozen times when his father was still alive. He worked ex-tremely hard to save money in order to provide financial support to his birth fam-ily in China. Mr Yang sincerely requested of his two younger brothers and three younger sisters, 'Please take good care of our father, I would keep money com-ing in.' He brought ten thousand U.S. dollars each time he visited China. After his father died, he even made an oath to become vegetarian in order to implore the gods to look after his parents in the afterworld. Mr Yang has not returned to the home in China since his father's death, 'because the economic conditions in China are improving'. Mr Yang implied that his family in China may no longer need his financial support (Interview, 20 July, 2010).

Some villagers keep in touch with their family in China though. For instance, Mrs Fang once excitedly told me, 'My grand-niece came to Taipei (the capital of Taiwan) from Nanjing the day before yesterday and gave me a call; thereupon my son, daughter-in-law, grandson and I went there from Hsinchu to give her a reception dinner in a fancy restaurant. After dinner we returned home at midnight' (Interview, 13 July, 2010). This was her grand-niece's second visit to Taiwan following the first visit a few years ago. Today it takes only a few hours for people to commute between China and Taiwan by direct flight, which was unimaginable before the abolishment of martial law in 1987. However, the inconvenient truth is that even though the *Waishengren* were born in China, they are no longer con-sidered 'native Chinese'; they are seen as *Taibao* (臺胞), compatriots from Tai-wan. Though economic opportunities opened up by China's developing econo-

my have resulted in increasing economic and cultural integration of the Taiwanese business community in China with locals (Shih 2007: 136),¹⁴⁰ very few LN villagers become part of it. In LN Village, it is said that some of the second-generation villagers re-migrated to China after retirement,¹⁴¹ but none of the first-generation villagers who had settled in Taiwan returned.

As to disconnecting China, sixty years after they left home, a number of villagers undertook only a few visits back to hometowns in China because time brings great changes to the world. The Guo and the Fang families are typical cases. Mr Guo visited his elder sister twice in China when she was still alive a few years ago. 'She may have passed away,' Mrs Guo conjectured. Mr Guo's parents and siblings are now all dead; they never had the chance to visit Taiwan due to the travelling expenses which Mr and Mrs Guo were not able to cover for them. Mrs Guo returned to her hometown in China once, but couldn't find any of her family (Interview, 12 March, 2010). Like Mr Bian and Mr Zheng, Mr Fang Junior's father died in 1986 (the ban across the Taiwan Strait was lifted in 1987) and he never had a chance to return his home in Anhui Province, East China. Most of his family were gone: his younger brother was killed on the battlefield of the Korean War in the early 1950s, and his younger sister was married to someone from another province and became estranged (Mr Fang Jr interview, 22 April, 2010).

Families of Chinese veterans who died early, some of whom married Taiwanese wives, are even more inclined to disconnect with China. Mrs Chen and Mrs Tsai explained this in detail. Mrs Chen recalled, 'My husband told me that he didn't know where his hometown was, what were his parents' first names, because he

¹⁴⁰ This has caused the 'Taiwanization' of China's urban popular and consumer culture (including Taiwan-style stores, restaurants, fashions, popular music, television shows, and popular novels), and the view of China as the new promised land, where business suffering from years of recession as well as market saturation in Taiwan may be revitalised (Shih 2007: 136).

¹⁴¹ Migration back to the mainland would presumably focus on economic hotspots, such as Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou. This would therefore be an economically motivated migration rather than a return back home (Storm 2008:58).

left his home in China at an early age.' Mr Chen, born in 1926, died in the 1980s before the ban was lifted. After Mr Chen's death, while Mrs Chen's son studied for his PhD in the U.S., and her daughter married in Japan (thus giving them access to write or make calls to families in China), they asked Mrs Chen whether they should have tried to make inquiries about their father's family in China. Mrs Chen rejected this idea. 'It's probably better to forget it because they (Mr Chen's family in China) are mainland Chinese and may request money from us' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010). The suspicion of a demanding family in China is a usual scenario for many villagers. The treatment many villagers received from their relatives in China when they returned to visit hometowns was unimpressive. It is known that those families who had not made it to Taiwan experienced harsh times under communism; some of them may have even suffered more difficulties because of their 'betraying' nationalist families to the communists. Understandably, when these nationalist families in Taiwan returned home to China, folks left behind claimed indemnities from their counterparts. During their visits in the early 1990s, many LN villagers were asked for favours by their Chinese relatives as compensation for the period spent suffering during the separation. However, most home-coming *Waishengren* were not wealthy and they considered what they gave to their Chinese relatives as gifts. This issue was rarely openly discussed. 'I don't visit my husband's hometown in China anymore after giving a lot of gold necklaces to his family members in China,' Mrs Tsai revealed (Interview, 30 September, 2009).

There are other factors causing such separations, some of which are unfortunate or unforeseen. Both Mr and Mrs Tsai were seriously injured in a tour bus accident in China. Mr Tsai died later in 2002, after contracting hepatitis C from a blood transfusion during medical treatment in China, and Mrs Tsai had to undergo a major operation in Taiwan after returning from China. 'My husband made one more visit after that, but it was my first and last visit in China. I dare not visit China again. I tremble with fear whenever speaking of mainland China' (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009). Other typical cases are described by Melissa Brown (2004) and by Alan Wachman (1994):

[O]ne person I know from Taiwan, whose parents had fled the mainland with the Nationalists in the 1940s, visited China in the mid-1980s, soon after such visits were allowed by Taiwan's government. After expressing shock at the standard of living, at the apparent lack of work ethic which she found in China, she identified herself proudly as from Taiwan. Other 'Mainlanders' [Waishengren] from Taiwan have reported similar experiences and sentiments (Brown 2004: 12).

One influential professional born on Taiwan to Mainlander parents said he 'belongs' on the island of Taiwan and regards it as his home. [...] after a recent trip from Taiwan to the mainland, he felt more intensely than ever his association with Taiwan and said he would happily fight alongside Taiwanese to defend the island against any assault from the Communists (Wachman 1994:62-3).

Most LN villagers had regarded China as their homeland; they intended to return to China at least in retirement, which was an intention often reinforced when they experienced a rejection of their initial assumption that they would be fully accepted as Taiwanese. However, the more they visited their homeland China, the more out of place they felt. Their experiences of frustrating interaction with locals there reduce the sense of ethnic belonging, and disclose significant differences that had previously been unnoticed. They face a second, even more unexpected, rejection by being seen as 'Taiwanese' by those who never left (Lin 2010). This process illustrates how the ambivalent feelings of being Chinese emerged, and how they gradually encounter difficulty in regarding China as their homeland. To these home-comers, their trips to China were not only long-awaited dreams come true but also an awakening process wherein they needed to find themselves a homeland whether in reality or in mind. The strangeness of their former homeland China and Chinese relatives in name encouraged them to forget belonging in their homeland and instead better integrate themselves into their host society of Taiwan, and in language, customs, and diet (Li 2006: 40). Therefore the majority of first-generation *juancun* residents decided to stay in Taiwan for life, despite their almost universal initial expectation of a return.

Last but not least, touring China. Nostalgia is a bittersweet emotion in which the past is viewed with both sadness and longing, therefore, it is rich and evocative, and imaginary rather than 'real' (Belk 1990). Homeland China may be lost forever, but individual and collective commodification of nostalgia and interest in tourist attractions across vast China spring up. The loss of belonging was temporarily soothed and soon supplanted by much attention to the grandeur of the mountains, lakes and rivers and natural heritage that shifted their focus from person to landscape. The self may be temporally enlarged by conceiving a lineage that can be traced to the grand empire of China. People proud to be 'Chinese' are temporally enlarged by having visited the places of historic interest and scenic beauty around China or having antiques that could be bequeathed to their children. For instance, Mrs Fang took a 10-day trip to Nanjing, her hometown, and its neighbouring scenic spots in April 2010; she stayed in the hotel, instead of her family's place, 'because their house is incommensurate,' Mrs Fang explained. She also travelled to famous Hangzhou, where she enjoyed the unique open-air theatre 'Impression West Lake' (印象西湖).¹⁴² 'The ticket was about 60 pounds per person. Dancers perform in the mist on a stage built above the surface of lake, like celestial beings from Heaven. There is no such expensive performance in Taiwan,' she mentioned, with emphasis in her tone, implying that there is something better, or at least more expensive, in China than in Taiwan. Touring China provided not only wonder and comfort, but also memory lanes to recall caring parents and good old days. It is also the way to construct a personal homeland through purchasing selected materials throughout the trip. Mrs Fang compared life in her hometown from present to the past, as well as the changing cross-strait consumption level:

¹⁴² According to its introduction, it is staged on the wavy, mellow and changing West Lake, and the performance leads you to a sweet thousand-year dream. The special concealable auditorium provides the audience with a bird's-eye view of the show and the panoramic view of the West Lake itself. The pioneering individualized sound system, combined with the sound-oriented system, offers surprising acoustic enjoyment.

Today, it costs 500 New Taiwan dollars (about 10 pounds) to enter the Ming Xiaoling Mausoleum in Nanjing ¹⁴³. It was totally free of charge when I was young. I know this place like the back of my hand. My mother once peddled fruits on the road to the mausoleum; she was a woman capable of being both a pedlar and a farmer. (Interview, 23 April, 2010)

I didn't buy too many souvenirs this April because I've bought many of them before. In the past, Taiwanese tourists were wealthy consumers, but now the Chinese are real, powerful buyers. I used to buy almost everything when I travelled to China, from necklaces to clothes: four stinky sheepskin vests in Sichuan Province and a jar of chilli powder in Yunnan Province (Interview, 13 July, 2010).

Similar to, but more than, television channel surfing, tours in China provide LN villagers fleeting images, experiences, and sensations superimposed on past memories in collage-like effects. Forever separated from the days of past, and agonised by the broken birth family, these LN villagers created their renewed experiences of homelands through travel in China, memory recall and souvenir purchase. Those artefacts taken home and placed in domestic spaces mediated between past and present lives, moving history into private time by juxtaposing it with a personalized present; landscapes and objects merge in the individual's experience of a place which is 'both real and imagined' (Saunders 2002: 177-197).

In 6.2.1, I provide clues to how greatly, and in what ways, homeland China, which was once familiar to its people, became estranged to many LN villagers. The melting imagery of original homeland as utopian visions supposedly redi-

¹⁴³ It is the tomb of the Hongwu Emperor, who is the founder of the Ming Dynasty. It is located east of the historical centre of Nanjing, China.

rects their gaze to collective pasts, which serve as a repository of inspiration for repressed identities and unfulfilled claims (Olick et al 2011: 3). And according to Paul Basu's book *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*, the first full-length ethnographic study of its kind, examining the role of place, ancestry and territorial attachment in the context of a modern age characterized by mobility and rootlessness, he argues that home is not to be found either in movement or in stasis, but in the articulation of both, and diaspora and homeland should be understood as correlative concepts (Basu 2007: 8, 24). From LN villagers' reconnection to disconnection and touring China, the process admits worthwhile further ethnographic exploration.

6.2.2 Taiwan and beyond: an unexpected journey

Compared to travelling to China in earlier years, more and more trips have been made to places in Taiwan and worldwide by LN villagers. Travel can be considered as a journey of the mind (Vertovec 2000: 9), which includes an imaginary connection with many nodes that have significance in belonging over distance. In a century of mass travel, most of us find ourselves strangers in a strange land at times, while those who dwell in the host society over half a century, and suddenly realize that their homeland is forever lost, find themselves peculiar strangers in a familiar land, which was seldom considered as homeland before. This is a discovery made not far away but at home. The sense of strangeness toward a land of familiarity gradually melts away as an unexpected journey to Taiwan and elsewhere beyond China begins: both voyagers and lands transform over the course of travel. Modern tourists are, in many ways, archetypical 'structuralists', with a desire to mythologically recover those senses of wholeness and structure absent from everyday contemporary life (Selwyn 1996: 2).

LN villagers travel all around Taiwan. 'I have traversed the length and breadth of Taiwan,' many first-generation LN villagers stressed. However, the KMT-led government in Taiwan had vicariously conceived a national history and an imagined Taiwanese integrity that suppressed histories of the land and people of Taiwan (Duara 1996: 63). Therefore, at the start they saw Taiwan in the way that

tourists did, travelling in groups on tourist buses with colleagues, neighbours or local religious believers, along famous sightseeing routes. 'I've visited almost every corner in Taiwan: places such as *Alishan* (Mt. Ali, 阿里山) and *Lishan* (Mt. Li, 梨山), except *Yushan* (Mt. Jade, 玉山),' Mrs Fang still remembered the excitement during her first trip to *Alishan*, one of most famous scenic places in Taiwan. 'I even visited Hualien in East Taiwan and Penghu Islands.'¹⁴⁴

Some of Mrs Fang's trips were incentive tours arranged by the light bulb company and accompanied by her colleagues when she was a production assembly worker (Interview, 23 April, 2010). Other trips were made possible by local travel agencies. 'I joined some of them and have been to many tourist spots in Taiwan.' Mr Xu continued, 'Various plants on the roof are grown by cutting (cloning),'¹⁴⁵ and I took pieces of the stem or root of the source plants from my trips to places around Taiwan. That later became one of the main reasons I travelled' (Interview, 16 July, 2010). Mr Xu's experience supports that plants that connect people and places can provide a means of acting out memory, which can be inscribed anew on the symbolically permanent yet very fluid layer of soil (Jepson 2006: 167).

Other trips were pilgrimages. There seem to be differences of interest in local beliefs and ways of travel between the Chinese diaspora and the natives. Mrs Chen, Mrs Han, Mrs Tsai and Mrs Jiang, all of Hok-lo or Hakka origin, regularly took organised 'Pilgrimage Sightseeing Tours (*jinxiangtuan*, 進香團)'. They visited many temples in Taiwan, such as those in Hualien, Taitung, Taichung and Jiaoxi, and worshiped various gods around Taiwan. 'The *Waishengren* did not join us on these tours,' Mrs Chen commented. Without any language barrier, Mrs Chen often travelled on weekends with her colleagues when she worked as a

¹⁴⁴ Penghu Islands consist of 64 small islands and islets and are also known as Pescadores, an archipelago off the western coast of Taiwan in the Taiwan Strait,.

¹⁴⁵ The cutting produces new roots, stems, or both, and thus becomes a new plant independent of the parent.

pesticide factory worker. Following retirement, they did not go out as much as before. 'I love to travel by my scooter. I even rode it from Hsinchu to Guanyin Temple in Linkou and Liao Tianding (廖添丁) Temple in Damsui (in north Taiwan)' (Mrs Chen, interview, 19 March, 2010).¹⁴⁶ However, Mr Yang the veteran, also an enthusiastic key keeper of *Fu-De* Temple near LN Village, is an exception. He once told me that the horizontal inscribed boards hung high on the wall of his office were goodwill gifts from other temples. In the past, in the temple's heyday, believers made trips to 'sister temples' in South Taiwan during the first half of the year and to those in the north later. 'It was always a two-day trip on the weekend, with two coaches fully packed with devoutly local believers. But in recent years, due to the decrease in donation, the worshipers travel only once per year and take turns to visit the south and north' (Mr Yang, interview, 20 July, 2010).

Several second-generation villagers are keen travellers too. For instance, Mr Fang Jr, son of Mrs Fang, has conquered more than 60 peaks out of the 'Top 100 Peaks of Taiwan'. Nowadays, he prefers hiking to the hills. He used to climb mountains with friends in the mountaineering club, but afterwards he became the guide who takes neighbours in the village on travels high and low to enjoy the sights of hills and rivers (Mr Fang Jr interview, 22 April, 2010). It is during these trips that they grow intimate relationships with Taiwan. 'I've seen the most "divine trees" (extraordinary trees, 神木) in both Taiwan and China in the past 40 years. I even saved one, a *Lagerstroemia subcostata* in Nantou, central Taiwan, in the summer of 2008.'¹⁴⁷ He described in detail how he made three attempts, the first two of which were unsuccessful, to climb up the high mountain in order to visit the very old tree, only to find the moribund tree falling down after the typhoon. 'So I asked my journalist friend to help call for help via the press. It was,

¹⁴⁶ Liao Tianding is a legendary Taiwanese Robin Hood figure who foiled oppressive rulers during the period of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan.

¹⁴⁷ *Lagerstroemia subcostata* is a deciduous tree which is native to Japan, Taiwan, China and the Philippines.

in the end, brought back to life by help from tree experts and tree-lovers. The tree and I were destined to meet each other' (Mr Fang Jr interview, 22 April, 2010).

Many LN villagers even travelled China and the world (at least once). While Mr Qian, a Chinese veteran, made his hometown in China the only travel destination, his Taiwanese Hakka wife Mrs Qian visited many parts of China. Mrs Qian explained:

I like going out and visiting various places, from local markets to national and international scenic spots. But my husband only visited his relatives in Zhejiang Province, China. He always got drunk in China, which really repelled me. In order to prevent quarrels about drinking, I preferred travelling with neighbours to other provinces in China, rather than with him to his hometown. I've seen almost every corner in China. I just came back from Kunming, Yunnan Province in May, 2009 (Interview, 8 January, 2010).

Apart from China and Taiwan, many LN villagers have travelled further to other countries: to the Netherlands, France, Switzerland to Italy, and from Las Vegas and the Grand Canyon in the U.S. to Phuket, Pataya and Bangkok's spiky golden roofs in Thailand (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April, 2010). They found some places fun, and others less so:

Our trip to Australia wasn't a good one because there was a desert. But we like the travel in Europe. We landed in the Netherlands and returned to Taiwan from Rome. We joined a tourist group and the coach driver was an Italian. We saw tulips in Holland, and the Catholic Church, Roman Colosseum and Leaning Tower of Pisa in Italy. In Switzerland, we saw people ski; in Paris, we visited the Eiffel Tower and the Triumphant arch, and we took a boat trip along the Seine (Mrs Bian and Mrs Fang, interview, 20 July, 2010).

My daughter once took me on holiday to Hokkaido, Japan. I dared not get into the hot spring bathing house because people were naked in the windless mist. It seemed that Japanese were poor so that they have no chairs but eat or sit on the ground and tatami. We saw no Japanese, only tourists, when we were in Hokkaido. There were lots of trees in Japan; it wasn't an interesting place so that after shopping and giving a passing glance at scenery we returned to Taiwan (Mrs Fang, interview, 23 April and 13 July, 2010).

Many tourist sites and locations create complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality (Appadurai 1996: 192). Old and new notions of homeland continue to permeate among people; experiences of trips to China, Taiwan, Japan, Europe, and even Australia can be mentally, physically, and symbolically juxtaposed at the same time in mind, home, and daily conversation. While listening to their experiences of travelling around the world, through eyes sparkling with delight and excitement I saw vivid memories of trips, likes and dislikes toward places complicated with collective and individual histories. LN villagers' spatial and verbal stories are embedded in one another, and delineate their worldviews, or arguably their personal worlds. People do not travel alone; marriage stress, national stereotypes, entangled history, and tensions between peoples of former wars, are always there in voyagers' eyes, through which each individual has a unique personal experience of the trip, unlike that of those who travel together. It is also through dialogues and soliloquizing along the journey that novel forms of homelands are compared, imagined and constructed.

6.2.3 The second generation: childhood memories in Taiwan

In the previous section and subsections, I delve into retrospection and superimposition of the first generation Chinese diaspora in Taiwan. And in this subsection, I will look at the superimposition of the second generation through 'the human-environment relations,' 'children's folkgames,' 'the social economic milieu, and 'postmemory.'

In *Children and Nature: Psychological, Sociocultural, and Evolutionary Investigations*, Peter Kahn and Stephen Kellert (2002) argue that the natural world was one of the most important contexts of children's maturation, and the experience of nature is a critical component of human physical, emotional, intellectual, and moral development. Life in the *juancun* forges a feeling of solidarity among individuals from different backgrounds. A number of second-generation *Waishengren* born in Taiwan remember well their childhood days in these military dependents' villages (Corcuff 2002:170). Against the difficult social-economic backdrop, things and people were key elements in life of the second generation. Compared to their youngsters today, the second-generation LN villagers enjoyed much more open space and natural areas during their playful youth in the 1950s. Back then, hares were seen around the bushes, and hawks in the sky during the day; people were accompanied home by fireflies, while chirps of insects and croaks of frogs lulled people to sleep in the evening. The River JG (or *Dingbu Ditch*, 汀埔圳) once flowed abundantly and provided clean water in which boys bathed with their shorts still on, and washed clothes during water supply suspension (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009). Children of the same age often played together after school: catching loaches and picking clams in the stream, hunting birds with handmade slingshots, collecting cicadas from tree trunks, and devouring peanuts, sweet potatoes, and sugarcane grown in neighbours' fields (Li 2006). Mr Fang Jr gaily recalled:

When I was a child, my friends and I loved to catch Formosan giant crickets in the morning; we had to make them come out from underground by pouring water into their earth holes. In the evening, we tied strings on legs of scarabs and then flew them like kites. Other activities were also popular, such as collecting bird eggs in the tree, gluing cicadas to bamboo poles, gathering fireflies in glass bottles to earn extra light, and catching mitten crabs and shrimps in the stream. In summer, we taught ourselves to swim in Dingbu Ditch (known by locals as the River JG). Though it was an economically difficult time, we were lucky

enough to be surrounded by a natural environment where most insects, fish, shrimps and birds could survive our naughtiness (Fang 2000b).

In their everyday work and play, people subtly and unconsciously reveal their adaptations to nature; every landscape is therefore a blend of man and nature (Meining 1979: 35-36). For Mr Fang Jr, nature is the best classroom, but 'unfortunately in the 1970s, urbanisation wiped out most natural places and things that we were familiar with' (Fang 2000b). 'The enjoyment of the idyllic life has gone, and my kids living in the concrete jungle will never be able to understand it,' Mr. Li lamented (Li 2006). The change in the environment indicates the rapidly transforming society by growing nostalgia, because a landscape, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives, is a signifying system through which the social is reproduced and transformed, explored and structured (Tilley 1994: 34). Inherited projective reminiscences from their parents and feeling sorry for their children's loss of idyllic surroundings, the childhood memories of the second generation have become foundation of their homelands.

The landscape and the people are inseparable subjects. Mr Fang Jr enjoyed having fun with his friends and neighbours as much as playing children's folkgames 'cops and robbers', 'piggyback fight', 'hide and seek', and baseball with limited equipment in the wide field; sometimes they also rode cows and goats for fun. There was once a tunnel made by Japanese army during World War II at the edge of Lane 51, JG Road and it was occasionally explored by children with torches. One of Mr Fang Jr's friends even said that his father had found a Samurai sword in the tunnel. The hill *Chituqi* was their adventure playground (Fang 2000b).

We had a lot of fun together when we were kids before the age of the family factory in the late 1950s (Mr Yen, interview, 10 December, 2009).

Much of our time was spent in the sugar cane fields and in the ditch: stealing one or two stalks of sugarcane from the harvesting bullock cart and running away before chewing on them, soaking ourselves in the

ditch, throwing lollipop sticks on the open ground, and playing marbles in front of our homes (Mr Fang Jr interview, 30 September, 2009).

For the second-generation villagers, the material condition of childhood was difficult in those bitter days with shabby housing, a simple diet, and resource sharing amongst siblings. The only free entertainment was the weekly film broadcast by the government in the plaza (today's car park). Thus free folkgames as a form of structured play with an objective, certain rules, variability and generally no special equipment were popular and indispensable.¹⁴⁸ It is said that through playing these games together children in the village became brothers and sisters (Li 2006).

These children of the Chinese diaspora did not play their folkgames in the age of affluence but in the postwar social economic milieu, and all individual remembering took place 'with social materials and within social contexts' (Olick et al 2011: 19). How difficult was the material condition in those days when the second generation were children? Stories about GF Road, the thoroughfare near LN Village, may give us some clues. It was not until the mid-1950s that GF Road was covered with asphalt. In summer, the blacktop melted for lack of gravel. According to Mr Fang Jr, 'Our feet were stained with asphalt then. Some of my mates made drumsticks of melted asphalt and chopsticks, while others produced balls of it.' In winter, the road chapped. Bullock carts were commonly seen on GF Road during that time. Kids often hopped on vacant carts for a free ride and jumped off it near school after paying their regards to the drivers. There was very light traffic on GF Road. Vehicles were rarely seen during most of the day except

¹⁴⁸ Games mostly played were 'palms as knives (手殺刀)', 'rolling a hoop (滾鐵環)', 'cops and robbers (官兵抓強盜)', and 'piggyback fight (騎馬打仗)', as well as toys like pogs (紙圓牌), marbles (彈玻璃珠), rubber bands (橡皮筋), and slingshots (彈弓), were boys' favourites, while girls preferred 'bean bag toss (沙包)', 'playing grown up (玩辦家家酒)', 'hide and seek (躲貓貓)', 'hopscotch (跳房子)', 'skipping rope (跳繩)', 'shuttlecock (踢毽子)', 'moon cake back paper (月餅紙)' and 'lollipop stick (冰棒棍)'.

for morning rush hour. Public buses with wooden boards ran between every one to two hours.

Mr Fang Jr and his friends used to go to primary school barefoot when shoes were uncommon. However, pupils then hurt their feet from time to time because the road was made of pebbles or coke residue. Mr Fang Jr's personal account revealed more about life in those days:

One day my father bought me a pair of sneakers and asked me to walk to school in these shoes. But I was reluctant to do so because I knew clearly that by wearing them I would be surrounded and bullied by my classmates out of envy. A children's ditty went like this, 'Get three spans if you wear new clothes/shoes. So I only wore them near my home and then tied them to my satchel afterwards. One day, I played and skipped along the road to school as usual, but unfortunately found them missing on arrival at school. I got a scolding and spanking later that day after returning home, and from the next day onwards I went to school on barefoot as before (Fang 2000b).¹⁴⁹

Recollection based on those vivid childhood experiences of the second generation is undoubtedly one of the most important factors that constitute the invisible but real homelands. However, 'postmemory', in Marianne Hirsch's (2008) terms, must not be overlooked. It is a structure between the second generation and their powerful, often collectively traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but were nevertheless transmitted to them by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up (Hirsch 2008: 106). Therefore the family and the community is the space of transmission. Growing up with such overwhelming inherited memories and to be dominated by narratives that preceded

¹⁴⁹ Most second-generation LN villagers born in China entered Dong-Yuan Primary School and Hsinchu Air Force Primary School, while those who were born in Taiwan studied in the newly established Jian-Gong Primary School.

one's consciousness risks having one's own stories and experiences displaced, even evacuated, by those of a previous generation (Hirsch 2008: 107).

In Taiwan, postmemory is not only transmitted in the *Waishengren* circles, but is also enhanced, and often distorted to a larger scale by the ROC government-in-exile. The narration of homeland repeated by the first-generation *Waishengren* became the main origin of their children's imagination about China (Sun 2010: 44), while the KMT's education, tainted by Chinese nationalism, made the second generation of the Chinese diaspora and their peer native Taiwanese grow up with an imagination of paralleled space created by textbook content of fictional geography and history and viewing mainland China as a temporally CCP-occupied region of the ROC to be recovered. In this paralleled space, the second generation recognised mainland China as their origin and found a belonging, a Chinese nationalist one (Sun 2010: 46). Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation (Hirsch 2008: 106-107).

In contrast to the complicated recollections of the first-generation villagers, childhood memories of the second generation remained sweet and green. In the details of human-environmental and interpersonal relations, we see how the primary natural things, such as rocks, water and insects, and human playmates, make LN Village a meaningful place. Places called forts, dens, hideaways or club-houses, are places in which separation from adults was sought, in which fantasies could be acted out, and in which the very environment itself could be molded and shaped to one's own needs. This is the beginning of the act of dwelling, or claiming one's place in the world (Marcus 2006: 25). People and environment are constitutive components of the same world (Tilley 1994: 23). The younger generation's personal memory as a child is the beginning of his or her homeland reinvented with complications of China and Taiwan in mind.

6.2.4 Section summary

Our relation to the past is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth (Hall 1990: 226). In this section, I argue that, for the Chinese diaspora

in Taiwan, homeland is already here, not one particular place of inhabitancy, but many. The original, estranged, reconnected, disconnected, and imaginative one in China, the familiar many across Taiwan, as well as the journeys made between these homes all provide the subject with the contours of a space of belonging, a 'simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey 2005: 9). From original homeland to putative homelands, superimposition of memories of generations is what allows homelands to continually fashion and refashion themselves. Memories of previous places we have experienced colour present perceptions and how we react to the future. The body carries time into the experience of place and landscape. The past influences the present and the present rearticulates the past (Tilley 2004: 12). The memories of China and Taiwan articulate the homelands, and the power of this articulation represents, animates and constitutes the otherwise lost and unpleasant space once familiar to the diaspora community. Memory is not only omnipresent but also situated in social frameworks, such as family and nation, and shaped by political circumstances, for instance, wars and catastrophes (Olick et al 2011: 37), which is illustrated in the next section.

Figures



Figure 106: In the Xu house: a map of Taiwan featuring famous tourist spots



Figure 107: Superimposition in the Fang house: two-dimensional worldwide travel photos on the glass sliding door (left) and the three-dimensional local plants thriving in the garden (right)

6.3 Expectation: Weaving Dreams

To resist assimilation into the host country, and to avoid social amnesia about their collective histories, diasporic people attempt to revive, recreate, and invent their cultural and political practices and productions (Hua 2005: 193). The LN villagers are no exception; they do so by both reviewing their lives in the past and present, and by imagining their own lives and those of their family in the near and far future, which constantly emerges in conversation among neighbours at lane corners, or in reverie when alone under the pentagonal pavilion or at home. In this section, I look at how expectation of this community relate to the plans in which its dwelling environment may become better, and conversely, how dreams could construct present lives and reinvent homelands. Expectation, or weaving dreams, is understood through prisms of dreams, visions, and humanscape.

6.3.1 Dreams and reveries

As a mosaic community of the uprooted and the deprived, LN village was once a place of worry: a young man from the neighbouring village had been killed by a second-generation LN villager, who was still at large. The fifth leader of the infamous 'Four Seas Gang' between 2000 and 2008 was the son of LN Village; villagers watched him grow up, stand out in the army, and become a crime lord after early retirement. 'There were hooligans in the village,' Mrs Chen described her concerns. 'I cared much about my children's future, so I sent my son out of the village to my sister's home in *Yang-Mei* (in Taoyuan County, north Taiwan) every summer and winter break. Thank God that in the end they didn't go astray' (Interview, 19 March, 2010). Therefore, most parents strove to provide their children with better education in hope of assisting them find their positions in the new land in the face of homesickness and straitened circumstances after the war (Li 2006: 23). Climbing up social ladder is the dream of almost every LN villager.

Mainly through their jobs, the LN villagers had chances of glimpsing what middle or upper classes' life was like. Many female villagers once worked as maids for

college professors or higher-ranked officers and undertook most of the domestic chores for them, such as igniting briquettes to boil water and cook, doing the laundry, cleaning the house, and dishwashing (Mrs Pan, interview, 29 September, 2009). Some male villagers also worked for the more privileged. Mr Chang, the village head, for instance, was an officer's chauffeur and gradually developed his hobby of gardening after years of watching senior officials grow plants in their gardens.

However, fulfilling dreams of upward social mobility takes time. Some dreams are realized through professional achievements or marriages of younger generations. Mrs Chen brought about a radical change to her previously low social economic status of being a poor Taiwanese Hoklo married to a Chinese gambler husband by her son becoming a professor in the university. Mrs Pan was proud to have a son-in-law with a PhD degree in computer science, and a highly educated grandson working in MediaTek Inc., a high-tech company, who married a graduate with a master's degree from National Tsing Hua University. However, this has not worked for all inhabitants of the village. Many ended up unemployed, trapped, living in childhood houses, unable to grasp at the society around them. Upward social mobility is fulfilled for many hardworking villagers but not everyone has managed to fully realise their hopes.

Even for those who successfully move upward social ladder, there are always gaps between ideals and realities. Those gaps, together with dreams and actualities, reside in contemplation. As soon as we become motionless, we are elsewhere dreaming of an immense world, immensity being one of the dynamic characteristics of quiet daydreaming. When we dream, we are phenomenologists without realizing it (Bachelard 1994: 103). Male villagers were often seen lost in reverie under the round roof of the pentagonal pavilion on the edge of the village during the afternoons; some remained silent throughout, while others exchanged greetings through eye contact or with a nod. Thus the pavilion was not only a familiar corner experienced from day to day, but also a dream place. Through dreams, the lived experiences of the past imbricate and retain the treasures of former days.

Centres of boredom, centres of solitude and centres of daydream are grouped together to constitute the oneiric house (Bachelard 1994: 17, 103). Aspects of our unconscious are expressed in the home environment, as those are shown in the dreams (Marcus 2006: 7). Houses, for female villagers in particular, were also dream places. Unlike their counterparts, many of them spent most of their time alone in or around houses, awake in bed, dozing off in the living room accompanied by the TV, in a trance on the bench at the chat corner within a short walking distance, and dazed by streams of people in the night market beside the village. Bachelard (1994: 6) points out that the house shelters daydreaming, protects the dreamer, and allows one to dream in peace. Daydreaming even derives direct pleasure from its own being; therefore the places in which we have experienced daydreaming reconstitute themselves in a new daydream. These dream places integrate memories, thoughts and reveries. Realities, dreams and gaps between them now form a whole. The original homelands (in China), the dream places (in houses), and the land (in Taiwan) under their feet achieve totality through depth – individual and collective homelands are thereby reinvented.

6.3.2 Visions

The *juancun* precinct, crammed with old houses along narrow lanes, is often described as being too dilapidated to be a comfortable home hence the ‘timely removal plans’. However, the inconvenient truth is that it is purely a land grabbing exercise under neoliberal economic policies embraced by the government. Villages once located peripherally have become central districts coveted by property developers in rapidly growing cities. The KMT’s long-loyal inhabitants of these villages facing imminent eviction have tried to express their humble concerns:

I told the government not to sell the whole block to property developers. We would like to preserve some parts of it, such as ‘the Widows’ Dwellings’. It was once a factory building constructed by the Japanese, and later became the war widows’ community. It marks the changing life

after World War II. The two-storey building is better off being a museum and a community centre rather than being demolished. It is my personal opinion though... (Mr Fang Jr, interview, 22 April, 2010).

Mr Fang Jr, son of LN Village and the chief of JG Borough, has envisioned a better community with a series of actions. 'This is a great place well-linked by traffic arteries to various parts of the country,' he indicated, 'in order to make fellow villagers happily stay here, I propose the following action plans'

A. Better education for future generations to stay. There are a primary school, a junior high school and two universities near the village. We can try to develop the junior high school into a six-year high school so that our determined children will be able to complete their full education within a 3-kilometre radius of the village. If successful, our community will be a great place for future generations. B. Better space for people to walk. Traffic jams have been problems for years. We need to build a proper sidewalk for pedestrians. Then we need to provide a large car park for both residents and night market tourists. C. Better living environment of the community for people. We should keep this area clean and clear. We have to remind one another of this aim and well maintain our appointed corners. D. Better atmosphere for people with diverse backgrounds to work together. We need to attract more people to participate in the community activities through hobby groups (Fang 2000b).

In addition to these ideas proposed earnestly and kindly, Mr Fang Jr made much of landmark and heritage preservation for residents to build their identity. 'People come and go. In order to help them truly identify themselves with the community, we need to save these historical buildings and landscapes as our symbol of the spirit and as a landmark for future generations' (Fang 2000b). Mr Lin, an independent researcher of local culture and history, suggests that many more modern buildings should be included in the protection list. He values not only the remains of the Imperial Japanese Naval Sixth Fuel Plant, and the childhood

memory landscape of *Dingbu* Ditch and the giant camphor tree, but also modern buildings which locals frequented, such as the defunct Ambassador Cinema, CPC Underground Oil Depot, General Welfare Service Ministry, MZ Public Housing, *Fu-De* Temple, the Chinese Lutheran Brethren Victory Church, *Tianhong* Temple, *Qingda* Night Market, *Shuiyuan* Market, and *Chituqi* Park (Lin 2009).

In the mind of Mr Fang Jr, there are more than dreams about LN Village; he has visions which may lead to action plans and their realization. Visions are not only intangible wishes, but also dynamic fields of action – both acted upon and active – rather than inert and vague ideas about the future. The upward social mobility constantly kept in mind, the dream places in public or private space, and enthusiastic action plans, these all possess the power to make a once-estranged land home, providing the foundation for homelands reinvention. According to Mr Li (Li 2006), another son of LN Village, it was the historical contingency that made people from across mainland China converge and take shelter on the island of Taiwan years ago, but today they have put down their roots here and enriched the culture. For many LN villagers, ‘Taiwan is the paradise they want to protect.’

6.3.3 Humanscape

This subsection can be divided into two parts: the sense of being ‘in the same village’ and the memory of being ‘on the same ship.’

In LN Village, inhabitants who had taken roots in the soon-to-be-evicted neighbourhood and who had seen many relocation projects in Hsinchu City had no difficulty of picturing their new life after moving to high-rise apartments, a second migration of a much smaller scale than many other *Juancun Waishengren* had already experienced. In the beginning, I was perplexed by seeing less reluctance than I’d expected by people who had lived in the low-rise compound for more than a half century to relocating to a nearby concrete housing complex (cf. Subsection 3.3.3). The reasons may lie in the fact that most of the villagers would move together, and the potential improvement of life due to moving as a means of reshuffling relationships and memories by making them decide which

ones to reinforce, which ones to abandon, and which to put on hold (Marcoux 2001: 83). In this subsection I use the term 'humanscape' to describe and interpret the phenomenon in more details.

It is known that self is comprised not only of our individual identities, but also of more aggregate levels such as family, work organization, city, and nation (Belk 1988). Scholars have also called for greater specification of the role of family and personal networks in international migration research (Boyd 1989), and the need to consider the house and its occupants within the same analytical framework (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 37), while technical and social knowledge is embedded in persons and in the relations between them (Strathern 1999: 24). The space of past and future, or humanscape, recreated in the Chinese diaspora community, is experienced daily in the crowded intimacy of the familiar objects and people, and structured inside and outside houses as well as in family and social time; it is defined by the action on other people's actions. While sensual memory was invoked through the talk, smell and sound of neighbours congregating together and helping one another during times of 'misery' (cf. Subsection 6.1.1), the feelings of hominess and mutual trust, or re-invented homelands, became both new and connected with the past through identical sensual experience.

For the *Waishengren*, the nation has long been disenchanted because there is no assurance that their nation (China, the ROC, and Taiwan as part of China or not) is exactly where they think or wish it was; there is not even the promise that the one nation they yearn to belong to will still exist tomorrow, or whether it even really exists today (Corcuff 2011: 53). Though the LN villagers were familiar with the metaphor and occasional possible reality of 'nation as family' in nationalist rhetoric, they spoke much more often about the village or settlement as if it was 'a ship'. 'Here in LN Village, we are crew on the same ship. We should always stay together' (Mrs Tsai, interview, 30 September, 2009) (cf. Mrs Tsai's case in Subsection 3.3.2). A basic contrast between rootedness and journeying is often at the heart of much of the *Juancun Waishengren's* thoughts. On one symbolic plane, the humanscape imagery, or the collective imagination of the people on

the same ship, unites the duality of the construction of social identities which are both permanently rooted in Taiwan and established through movement between Taiwan and China. Taiwan is the ship on which the Chinese diaspora board and China is the location to which the ship may (or may not) sail.

In LN Village, the ship experience (from war-torn China to the refuge Taiwan), the houses with their gardens, and the community of men and women appear to be fundamental metaphorical transformations of each other. On the ship that transported the LN villagers away from the mainland to the island, they leaned closely back to back during the whole journey. The houses have also grown to be imbricated with and to extend to one another, either under a big roof like those within the Big Building or standing on the same bounded land owned by a government who would relocate the community to a new high-rise complex as if they had just settled here after losing the Chinese Civil War (see Chapter 4). The gardens have long been prepared to move since the cultivation of potted plants from their very beginning, which could either take root (in containers of soil) or journey to the next settlement; they are as mobile as their gardeners (see Chapter 5). Thus, for the LN villagers, the humanscape, or imagery of relationship, plays an important role in their collective memory, present life and future. I would argue that, even knowing about the potential scattering of the community and the disappearance of the homes soon to be left behind, the LN villagers remain united and fearless of the impending eviction because they think of people sharing a similar fate as still being there, somewhere in the world. Humanscape is mobile and conserved.

6.3.4 Section summary

It is always more enriching to imagine than to experience (Bachelard 1994: 88). The villagers appealing to the imagination, both at an individual and a collective level, may be interpreted as a significant measure of its success as a channel of sense experience and, through that, communication with the world. Here I accentuate the operative agency of imaginative systems of local space and knowledge. Homeland is, as well as being representative of, a considerable di-

mension of modern diasporic culture, and thus has less to do with the original hometown than it does with being-in-the-world. It is necessary to emphasize the heterogeneity of these systems of space and knowledge. There are homelands, rather than a homeland speaking in one single voice.

Figures



Figure 108: The pentagonal pavilion on the edge of the village where male villagers linger

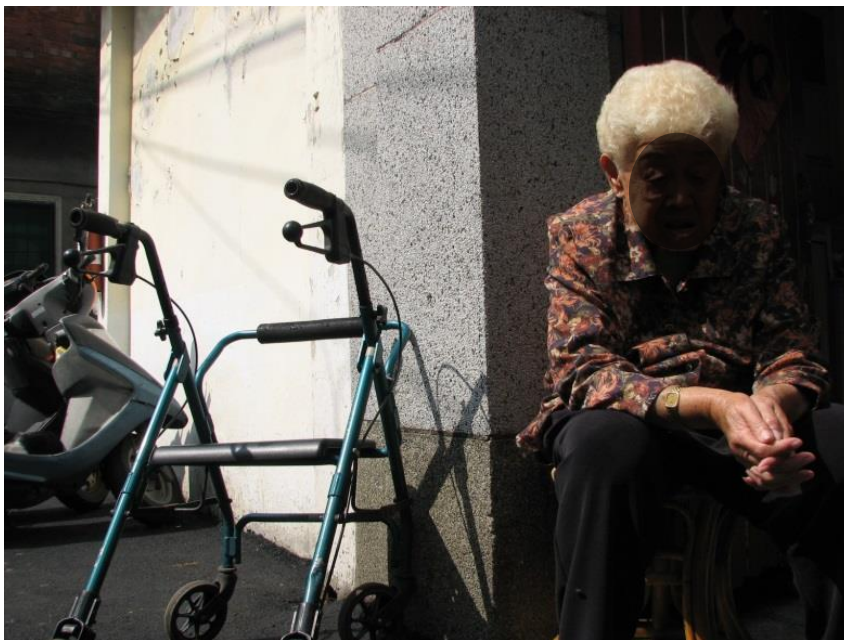


Figure 109: Mrs Bian in her reverie sitting alone at her front door during the day

6.4 Summary: Homelands in the Making

Description presupposes analysis, and analysis presupposes theory, and they all presuppose imagination (Strathern 1999: xi).

The Chinese diaspora in Taiwan who were displaced during the late 1940s, and experienced the transformation of the migrants' mentalités – from 'reluctant so-journers' in the 1950s to 'cultural nostalgia' from the 1960s to the 1980s, and to 'narrating the exodus' from the late 1980s and the early 1990s onwards (Yang 2012), were historically and culturally condemned to live in exile, and found both difficulty and hope when considering Taiwan their home. However, before Taiwan could be their true home, nostalgia for China and constraints on localisation were considered patriotic duty. To have called the new residence home would have been tantamount to an unpatriotic act of abandoning the will to return. Cut off from their hometowns in China for years, the uprooted Chinese diaspora had lost their land. They missed their parents, wives, and other relatives (Corcuff 2002:173-4). The transition from one place to another is never easy. Under the pro-independence government led by the Democracy Progress Party (hereafter DPP) between 2000 and 2008, common Chinese diaspora in Taiwan were able to accept changes that ran against the KMT's pro-China stance, but were stuck at the end of this period, in an endless liminal state without the *rites de passage* that are supposed to accompany people through their journey from one state in life to another, due to a lack of support from the KMT and to efforts in reinstating a higher profile of Chinese culture following the KMT chairman Ma Ying-jeou's election as president (Corcuff 2011: 37). For most Chinese diaspora, the constant and continual yearning for a return to lost homelands were unable to be realized in reality, except through supporting the pro-reunion political party KMT that cared only about winning their votes, rather than their life and wellbeing. It finally found a much more evident outlet through the everyday use of their own houses (see Chapters 3 and 4), gardens and public spaces (see Chapter 5), as well as memories and expectations (above in this chapter).

As is shown in this chapter, the life of the diaspora community is accompanied by misery, contentment and indigenisation through memories and dreams. Notwithstanding the bitterness experienced over the past sixty years, there is also their personal affection for Taiwan. The settling migrants attempt to create their sense of homeland through envisioning their dream home and community. The primary form of homeland making is through remembering, reviewing and expectation. This is the sense in which the LN villagers cannot return, for they cannot go back to the places and persons they came from. They have become dependent on their land of dwelling and relying on reinvented homelands, which reconcile and mediate political, social and conceptual conflicts between China and Taiwan. Memory is a matter of how minds work together in society, and how their operations are mediated and structured by social arrangements; the forms memory take thus vary according to social organization, and the groups to which any individual belongs are primary even in the most apparent individual remembering (Olick et al 2011: 18).

As actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems to increasingly deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 10-11). The lost hometown in China, the familiar village in Taiwan, and the connection between the two, become homelands in mind. Distance in time and space disperses nothing but, contrarily, composes a miniature of a homey country in which we should like to live. Disparate things become reconciled in distant and peaceful miniatures. The imagination is the most natural of faculties (Bachelard 1994: 172, 225). Human beings and their responses to the world around them are infinitely flexible, and the power of the human imagination in response to place has few limits (Tilley 2004: 225). '[T]here is a recursive relationship between ideational and material space, between ways of knowing the world and ways of being in the world' (Farrar 2008: 8). Therefore the reinvented homelands are present everywhere for dreamers, in all places visited, as well as in the village of dwelling, at all times. China, Taiwan and more are necessary parts of the lost homeland

imaginary to which the Chinese diaspora cannot return home again. They have already reached home without passing rites of passage and without accepting it. Rather than being imagined, the homelands of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan are made in the process of reflecting on life, rummaging in recollection, and weaving dreams.

Our vision of place, or sense of place, may change as the dynamic world is always changing (Tilley 2004: 220). This chapter explores the changing realities of homelands and their seekers in Taiwan, as well as the phenomenology of the places and the subjectivities of the diaspora community. It tries to exemplify how homelands are reinvented by people in the face of mobility and how the reinvention is reconfigured by memory, reflection and expectation of migrant-dwellers that translate the conflicts and uncertainties inherent in political and social systems into lived experience. Rather than searching inward for the essence of homeland, I consider homelands in terms of their processes of formation; they are never finished or closed, and are always in the process of being made. Although China and Taiwan are both called homelands and resemble the things they outline, they are things that are never just themselves, but something else as well. In relation to the past, present and future written from the standpoint of the present, the reinvented homelands describe the world in fresh ways, bringing new dimensions to them with copious meanings and rich senses.

Chapter 7 The Chinese Diaspora No More

We can see how everything is at once continuous and discontinuous, full of contingencies and hard to predict. Each and every notion is in a perpetual state of becoming, language is continually evolving [...] The meaning of the word has changed along with the changing society (Mauss 2006: 142-144).

Human beings have the capacity to keep on growing, never succumbing to the temptation of that kind of stability. After more than half a century, *Juancun Waishengren*, the Chinese diaspora quartered in military dependents' villages in Taiwan, are both routed and rooted in the world. Its meaning has changed over time, from strangers on the island of Taiwan to citizens with multiple attachments; it is arguably true that *Juancun Waishengren* is no more diaspora but part of a diaspora world.¹⁵⁰ LN Village in Hsinchu City, like most quartered Chinese diaspora villages, has existed in Taiwan since the ROC administration granting *Chituqi* to the homeless Chinese civil war soldiers and their families in the 1950s. This dynamic neighbourhood, once full of the values of patriots, the perseverance of pioneers, and the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, was dissolving and becoming sources of memory and imagination. It is a deep repository of social relation as well as a mechanism for its creation and distribution. The previous chapters have painstakingly shown how this network operates between individuals and themselves in the community and beyond. By dint of spending fourteen months during 2009 and 2010 in a single village, I reached the goal of reviewing 40 individual households, providing what may be as close to a genuine slice of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan as one is ever going to reach.

¹⁵⁰ A stricter definition regards descendants who have become rooted in a country and integrated into that society as no longer constituting a diaspora (Tan 2013: 3).

In this chapter, I aim to review and conclude this anthropological research and rescue of *juancun* material culture before its disappearance in four sections: evolution of material culture, emergence of belongingness, the redefined *juancun*, and Taiwan in a diaspora world. I attempt to manifest the purpose of this volume by explaining why the *juancun* is important in diaspora studies (Section 7.3 and 7.4), as well as how this research started to understand why the diaspora Chinese could not settle in Taiwan, and ended in finding the dissolution of fixed notions of Taiwanese and Chinese (Section 7.2). The entry point is everyday life, which involves space, place, things and identity (Section 7.1). Through reviewing 40 individual houses and their stories in this volume, a bigger portrait may begin to emerge as an image of the modern diaspora world.

7.1 The Material Culture Evolved

The identity of the diasporic imagined community is constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life (Brah 1996:183)

Since we live within manifold 'fields', such as families, peer groups, educational settings, work and political groups, we participate in them exercising varying degrees of choice and autonomy, each of which has a material context, a space, a place, and a set of symbolic resources (Woodward 1997: 21). We also design the immediate milieu by choosing furniture, pictures and plants, as well as arranging and rearranging the near environment of our home (Marcus 2006: 40-41). When the inhabitants of *juancun* face impending eviction, they knew that not only was the quartered village itself rendered obsolete by the changes, but so was the greater part of their material culture: the dilapidated houses and the community centre, the fading KMT emblem stickers at the front door, the dusty portraits of past Chinese leaders buried in storage or still hung high on the wall, and the worn-out buckets on the plain bathroom tiles. The transformation of the *juancun* is largely defined by changes in material culture. However, bearing in mind retrospection, superimposition, and expectation detailed in Chapter 6, LN villagers were equipped for the change (such as the upcoming relocation), with or without knowing it. In the long process of *juancun* creation and dissolution described in

Chapter 3, material culture of *juancun* open to exchanges between inside and outside the community, as exemplified in Chapter 4 and 5, has never ceased to evolve bit by bit, pot by pot, and day by day.

Sixty-six photos of life on Mr Xu's wall (Subsection 4.2.2), the hierarchical portraits displayed in Mrs Jia's cabinet (Subsection 4.1.3), Mr Chang's house full of corresponding paintings and rockery garden plants, and images of both the political leader and the father (Subsection 4.1.9), as well as the chat corner where LN villagers' idea and memory flows (Subsection 5.2.3) all create something that is both new and connected to the past, both individual and collective, through sensual experience or sensori-motricity, images and words in mundane daily life (Warnier 2001: 14). Because belongings require care, effort and work (Marcoux 2001: 76), Mr Xu's various plants from around Taiwan (Subsection 6.2.2), Mrs Fang's souvenir collection from around the world (Subsection 4.1.11), and Mrs Jia's many icons of deities in her house (Subsection 4.1.3) all call for attention. In addition, things not only embody goals, make skills manifest, and shape the identities of their users (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981: 1), but also concretise relations (Coupaye 2009: 106). Therefore, the closer our relationships are with objects, the closer our relationships are with people (Miller 2009: 1), as we have already seen in the cases of trees, the potted plants and their gardeners in Chapter 5, and of 'humanscape' in Chapter 6.

The living material culture of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan illustrated in ethnographic observations of this research is complex, fluid, and used to mediate problems in everyday inter-personal and inter-ethnic relationships. Individuals, family units, and the migrant community continuously reinventing themselves in relation to changing social contexts has showing us how people negotiate the increasing alienability of our material world, which is 'one of the challenges in material culture studies' (Buchli 2002: 18). The trend toward day-to-day Taiwanization remains strong, pragmatism demands the abandonment of illusions regarding unification with China in the near future, and realism appears to confer legitimacy to a Taiwan-centered polity (Corcuff 2012: 125). Though the individual diaspora Chinese could not literally apply a piece of Taiwaneseeness to them-

selves to resolve the contradiction of alterity, they could grow Taiwanese plants, follow local customs, and worship regional gods, which in a sense provide their varied forms of life with identification of an otherness which thus completes this aspect of the migrant's identity. Objects from or symbols of China such as souvenirs, photos, and TV programmes could become ideational fragments that are easier to be displayed, juxtaposed, and absorbed. Many illiterate LN villagers, with limited ability of expressing themselves through linguistic utterances, objectify thoughts in material forms because artefacts 'perform active metaphorical work in the world in a manner that words cannot' (Tilley 2002: 25). In the physical environment the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan display messages from the conscious and the unconscious about who they were, who they are, and who they might become, while their homelands are reinvented through material culture and the ways they perceive it.

7.2 The Belongingness Emerged

Identities are diverse and changing, both in the social contexts in which they are experienced and in the symbolic systems through which people make sense of their own positions (Woodward 1997: 23).

In Taiwan, there has been a social transition from community consciousness to multicultural nationalism, and the demarcation line affecting people's identity is time of arrival in Taiwan, attitude about Taiwan's political status (Wachman 1994:59), and the contrast between democracy on the island of Taiwan and dictatorship on mainland China (Anderson 2004). Taiwan's identity, both cultural and national, is in flux, constantly being reshaped by the new factors that develop in Taiwan itself, in the changing status of China, in Taiwan-China relations, and in global political economy (Schubert and Damm 2012: 5-11; Tan 2013: 10).¹⁵¹ So

¹⁵¹ The US is formally committed to the principle of One China, as proclaimed in the joint Shanghai communiqué of 1972, and is now critically dependent on Chinese financial flows to cover its trade deficit and prop up the dollar, so has every reason to maintain close relations with

too does the evolving identity of *Waishengren* depicted in Chapters 1, 2 and 6 (particularly in Sections 1.2, 2.2 and 6.2) because identity seen as contingent is the product of an intersection of different components, of political and cultural discourses and particular histories (Woodward 1997: 28).

Since the mid-1990s, Taiwan has begun to forge a new national identity (Ross 2006); a distinct Taiwanese national identity is in the process of crystallisation (Anderson 2004).¹⁵² The clear differences in socio-political experience between Taiwan and China since 1945 resulting from two regime changes, the founding of the PRC in 1949 and the realization of full electoral democracy in Taiwan in 1996, have formed a very real national identity for the people of Taiwan (Brown 2004: 241). The conception of what the national characteristics of the Taiwanese are, is greatly defined by what the Chinese supposedly are not. While the Chinese are regarded as overly united, aggressive and powerful, given to fear and falsehood, the Taiwanese tend to see themselves as factious, unambitious and vulnerable.

Though the idea of 'New Taiwanese' is today still more a goal to reach than an already palpable reality with many *Waishengren* not being grouped in it, a process of 'indigenization' is shown in the *Waishengren's* manner, thoughts, language and political values (Corcuff 2002:188). Moreover, *Waishengren* also actively construct a diasporic identity to negotiate a new place in Taiwan (Scott 2006). From being exiles of the Chinese civil war who were deeply immersed in their own misery, nostalgia, and the crusade of mainland recovery (Yang and Chang 2010: 120), to colonizers who came from the outside to rule the island

the PRC. However, it is also tacitly bound by the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 to protect the island against any threat of an invasion. Since the 1990s, the US, a hostage to Taiwanese democracy, cannot accept Taiwanese independence de jure, but must ensure it de facto. America's only policy is therefore to cling to the indeterminacy of the status quo (Anderson 2004).

¹⁵² The change has been relatively swift. A 1998 poll sponsored by the Taiwan government found that 'only 18 percent of the people on Taiwan say they want to reunify with the mainland, even in the long run' (Kristof 1998). Today fewer than 50 per cent define themselves as both Chinese and Taiwanese, and not much more than 10 per cent as Chinese, while those who see themselves as simply Taiwanese number more than 40 per cent (Anderson 2004).

(Corcuff 2002:165), and to those working to keep a certain distance from the image of being Chinese after interacting with China's population (Lin 2014: 83), the belongingness of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan emerged because of common sociopolitical experience which binds the identity (Brown 2004: 5).¹⁵³ However, the *Waishengren*'s Taiwanese tropism is gradual, often hesitant, and the degree varies by generation and individual with the situation considered (Corcuff 2002:189).

Personal and cultural identity is bound up with places (Tilley 1994: 15). The close association between building life and home obviously became complicated when the diaspora Chinese migrated to Taiwan. The move creates an ambiguous relationship between home and homeland. 'Home' is both a mythical place of desire in the diasporic imagination and the lived experience of a locality (Brah 1996:192). Some LN villagers continued to regard their land of birth as 'home' (e.g. Mr Chang in Subsection 4.2.1), while others came to identify primarily with their land of settlement (e.g. Mrs Bian in Subsection 2.2.2, and Mr Li's observation in Subsection 6.3.2); still others might feel at home in neither their land of settlement nor that of origin, but at ease in memories of contentment (Subsection 6.1.2), reverie in both public and private places, visions of the future, and the familiar and comforting humanscape (Section 6.3).

Despite the particularity of mainly the first-generation LN villagers showed in this research, most second and third generation of *Waishengren* today are not distinguished from the rest of humanity in locality or in speech or customs, nor do they practice an extraordinary style of life. They dwell in Taiwan as their own country, but may keep sojourning souls within. Diasporic identification involves complexities and permutations (Vertovec 2000: 18). Recognising differences, as

¹⁵³ A growing number of common Mainlanders were relatively at ease with the evidence of Taiwan's already independent status, and at odds with China, increasingly considered as another 'country' (Corcuff 2011: 37).

well as common or shared characteristics between diverse groups of *Waishengren*, and between *Waishengren* and other ethnic groups, rather than the abhorrence of reflecting on identity in Taiwan, is what Taiwanese society is in need of.

7.3 The *Juancun* Redefined

Diasporas are potentially the sites of hope and new beginnings (Brah 1996: 193).

Personal biographies, social identities and a biography of place are intimately connected (Tilley 1994: 27). The space is never inert because of human engagement with and appropriation of it but is part of the way in which identities of individuals, groups, or nation-states are created and disputed. The *juancun*, home to many Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, could be considered not only as ballast to keep them stable, but to serve as familiar transitional objects that provided them a sense of support when confronting an uncertain future. These military dependents' villages also served as hopeful reminders that the Chinese civil war only temporarily ruptured the flow of time and that someday normality, peace, loved family and friends and childhood homes would be regained. So in some ways *Waishengren* and their family regard the two lands as though they were one.

Migratory trajectories may insert themselves into a local framework of self-representation and representation of the lifecycle (Monsutti 2010: 121). While these new diaspora communities were grafted onto the lands of old ones, their way of living was then devised by borrowing from the warehouses of local beliefs, long-developed daily rituals and moral exhortation. In LN Village, a former kitchen in the courtyard was turned into a shrine for deities (Subsection 4.2.3), a disused kindergarten was remodelled into the karaoke club, and a village assembly hall was transformed into a community centre (Subsection 5.2.3), all of which tell a story of redefined *juancun*. Humble houses that represent the accumulated savings of families who have been building little by little and brick by

brick mediate a lost homeland of origin, a putative homeland of pride and honour, and a temporary homeland of moorage (Chapter 4 and 6), while potted plants and gardens, redolent with metaphors of putting down roots and acting upon a territorial claim, afford notions of their provisional, transient, cyclical nature and mobility (Chapter 5). In this volume, the home in the *juancun*, or the *juancun* itself, is evidently more a process than a place.

These diaspora neighbourhoods, dismissed by the government as changeless entities or locations, could be better understood as a set of functions: integration, entry mechanism, and 'lieu de mémoire' (Nora 1989). First, in the *juancun*, webs of human relationships were created and maintained: one within the host society through marriage, 'sisterhood', and borrowed family (Subsection 2.3.3), and the other across the strait between Taiwan and China through nostalgia, travel and gifts (Subsections 4.2.2 and 6.2.1). The *juancun* connect *Waishengren* both to local Taiwanese people and to foreign Chinese family and friends. These networks provide practical survival opportunities and protection (Subsection 4.1.1). Second, the *juancun* functions as an entry mechanism for not only the first-generation villagers but also newcomers such as denizenized spouses from PRC, care workers and illegal immigrants from SE Asia (Subsection 2.2.2). It allows the second and third generation villagers to reach out to the larger city for higher education, to start small businesses through loans and relationships (e.g. Mrs Jia's youngest daughter), and to assume a position of political leadership (e.g. Mrs Bian's daughter-in-law). It also takes people in by providing cheap housing and assistance in finding entry-level jobs such as dishwashing or dumpling making at diners nearby. An indistinct relation between the *juancun* and its surrounding culinary topography has been observed in Subsection 3.1.3 (but is yet to be further explored). Third, the *juancun* has gradually become a place of memory, of both diaspora Chinese and local people. It is the 'lieu de mémoire', in the form of a ship imagery (Subsection 6.3.3), which provides belonging, security,

and a sense of continuity before and after its destruction, as well as a self-identity overcoming physical territory and transcending ethnic category.¹⁵⁴ Hence the *juancun* could be redefined as an invention that subsists between different conceptual worlds against one another. These conceptual worlds are conjured up as the difference between past and future, between wars and peace, between us and others, and between Chineseness and Taiwanese-ness, which are worlds encompassing and lying beyond the land. It is the space where the assimilations and syncretisms are negotiated.

7.4 Taiwan in a Diaspora World

The alien can inspire curiosity and imagination [;] it can even enlighten us about ourselves (Waldenfels 2011: 3).

There has been growing awareness that migration processes are intertwined with settlement, integration, transnationality and socio-economic development (Audebert and Dorai 2010: 12), while the notion of diaspora advocates the recognition of hybridity, multiple identities and affiliations with people, causes and traditions outside the nation-state of residence (Vertovec 2000: 5). In an increasingly heterogeneous and plural world, the diasporic lives of localism and transnationalism are characterised by the fierce aspiration to achieve economic and social success, as well as the willingness to sacrifice for both the community and the homeland (Tölölyan 2012: 13). It is a world in which diasporas have been living for a while (Tölölyan 2012: 13), and denizen of multiple belong appears as the exemplary subject of the present era (Hann 2011: xvi). Among the Chinese, there is a spectrum of ethnic identity: some calling themselves ‘real Chinese’, others in favour of having a hybrid identity (Wong 2013: 290). Though the trend today is to be a multicultural citizen (Wong 2013: 302), ‘multiculturalism’ is no

¹⁵⁴ However, we should keep in mind that each *juancun* has its own story and may differ from one another; thus all *Waishengren* should not be seen as the same bloc (何思璁 2001:52).

more than a feeble acknowledgment of the cultures having lost their moorings in definite places, and an attempt to subsume the plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 7). We need something more than a multicultural juxtaposition or intermingling, that is, the effort of crossing borders without eliminating them, one of the future adventures of interculturality (Waldenfels 2011: 6), and by delving closely into material culture and everyday life in LN Village, this research provides us a primary idea of what interculturality may look like.

As many other former emigration countries having recently become immigration countries and many societies currently experiencing simultaneous inflows and outflows of people, Taiwan in a diaspora world, faces new challenges for social cohesion 'that are more and more intertwined with global geopolitical issues' (Audebert and Dorai 2010: 8). Studies of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan would throw light on the least unlikely outcome of what may happen in the long run: one day new generations from mainland China settling again on the island (Corcuff 2011: 35). It may be argued that Taiwan is in part ethnically and culturally Chinese but not politically Chinese since the birth of the PRC, and the simple question of 'Is Taiwan Chinese?' is complicated by its unique history and geopolitics which makes Taiwan a laboratory of identities (Corcuff 2002: xxiii). The presence/absence of China has made it the privileged signifier of new conceptions of Taiwanese identity and vice versa. By reflecting on the case of *Juancun Waishengren*, this research has encouraged us to emancipate both 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' from their outmoded meaning of fixity. On the one hand, the original 'China' is no longer there and should not be frozen into some timeless zone of the primitive, unchanging past (cf. Chapter 1 and 6). On the other, Taiwan, an outlier of the Chinese polity (Williams 2003: 163), has formed its distinctive experience with its remarkable vitality of the democracy for the past century, but still being under first Japanese and then American suzerainty (Anderson 2004). It is a non-nation-state nation, a nation without international recognition; the people on the island live with political ambiguities every day, which appear to ensure survival and security flimsily in the foreseeable future

(Shih 2007: 55, 139). However, in terms of coping with challenges posed by globalization to the concept of identity, the lack of a fixed understanding of the meaning of Taiwanese-ness might be an advantage (Storm 2008: 57) since meaning is produced through a process of deferral and what appears determinate is thus fluid and unsure (Woodward 1997: 38). By taking a concept to its limit, rather than searching for its 'essence', the concept's possible extent could be found (Strang and Busse 2011: 5). Rather than dismissing it as an insignificant and marginal zone, Taiwan between superpowers corresponds to the notion of borderlands (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), of liminality (Corcuff 2012), and of limit zones which not only expand between and beyond the orders but also are the breeding grounds for the alien (Waldenfels 2011). By reviewing the material culture evolved (Section 7.1), the belongingness emerged (Section 7.2), and the redefined *juancun* (Section 7.3), the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, could therefore be understood as a concept that 'only works in displacement, and is always there to effect further displacement' (Strathern 2011: 33).

7.5 Further Study and Conclusion

In our postmodern and postcolonial times, we are strangers amongst strangers, and strangers to ourselves, but being alienated from ourselves permits us some distance to question our cultural milieu from the insights of an exile (Hua 2011: 51-52).

We will never cease to 'discover' new data since there is a generative habitus somewhere at work (Bourdieu 1990: 9). As a rescue anthropology study focusing on the material culture of one disappearing village, and applying phenomenological research methodology, this dissertation tends towards the exploratory rather than the confirmatory. Though attention has been paid to the experiences of different subgroups, generations, individual subjects, and the researcher, further historical analysis and a broad-based sociological inquiry grounded in archival research could better clarify diaspora theories in this and similar studies. Better understanding of the political, economic, and social divides in post-war Taiwan, as well as of the shifting boundaries and changing nature of these divi-

sions both in the past and at the present time could be gained (Yang and Chang 2010: 122). Moreover, it is also suggested that each study of the Chinese community overseas be open to comparative study, both among themselves and together with other migrant communities (Wang 2004: 157). These comparisons would sieve out the commonalities and differences between the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan and other diasporic groups.

The word 'diaspora' often suggests an unhappy condition, but I do not wish to conclude this case in Taiwan in the negative. It was the source of suffering and unhappiness, such as the uprooting of *Waishengren* from China, their migration across the Taiwan Strait, and the insertion into the island of diasporas, that unified these people despite their differences. With the help from an anthropology that has been liberated from ethnography, ways of knowing and feeling shaped through transformational engagements with people from around the world, both within and beyond the settings of fieldwork, would be free be brought to the essentially prospective task of finding a way into a future common to all of us (Ingold 2013: 6). In enlarging and examining our social, geographical, and anthropological imaginations, we might come to realize not only that our lives are entwined with the lives of strangers, but also that 'we bear a continuing and unavoidable responsibility for their needs in times of distress' (Gregory 1994: 205).

Titled 'Homelands reinvented: Material Culture of the Chinese Diaspora and Their Family in Taiwan', this volume tells stories of how *Juancun Waishengren* through material culture reinvent lost homelands in relation to identity construction, and redefine themselves from being diaspora Chinese in its old meaning to becoming Taiwanese in its new purport. It attempts to understand the concept of 'diaspora' through three prisms: the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, phenomenological ethnography, and material culture of *Juancun Waishengren*. Diaspora, refers here to a shadow position of intersubjectivity, rather than to an in-between, transitional existence. The concept is used as multipleness instead of neitherness, with reference to the identity struggle in liminal Taiwan in the face of a rising China. In addition, the volume is also an attempt to reflect upon the anthropological significance of the emergence of Taiwan with its curious historical and

geopolitical experiences. Finally, this is a contribution to a better understanding of the processes of materialization which are 'more significant than materiality itself' (Buchli 2002: 16). I conclude that the study of the Chinese diaspora in Taiwan is crucial not only to academia but also to human life in the world, and that the investigation into the representation of identity of the ageing and long-forgotten *Juancun Waishengren* is far from insignificant. In a life-world which is increasingly fragmented, plural and shifting, the individual is forced to search inwardly for some coherent sense of self (Basu 2007: 8). If it is better to live in a state of impermanence than in one of finality (Bachelard 1994: 61), we now may say that we are all '*Juancun Waishengren*', in our own diaspora archipelagos.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 The *Juancun*: Statistics Data

Table 1. The Type and Construction Year of *Juancun*

Type / Fund / Fundraiser	Construction Year	Number of Houses	Ownership
Japanese Building 接收日本營舍	Before World War II	2,161	Public
Self-built (by inhabitants) 眷民自建 (散戶)	1945 – 1956	7,785	Public
Self-built (by the army) 兵工自建	1945 – 1956	32,188	Public
Donation from National Women's League of the ROC 婦聯會捐建眷舍	1957 – 1966	2,080	Public
Hua Xia Mortgage Loan 「華夏集建」專案貸款	1967 – 1975	1,510	Private
Public Housing 國防部/省政府合建國宅	1979 – 1996	15,577	Private
Building Cooperative of Military Dependents 軍眷合作社自建	1979 – 1996	11,055	Private
Civil Funds 與民合建	1997 – present	100	Private
Public Housing Renewal 眷舍更新國宅	1979 – 1996	5,247	Private

Source : 羅於陵 (1991)、張雲翔 (2008)、王文珊 (2009)

Table 2. *Juancun* in County/City throughout Taiwan (up to 31 July 2006)

County /City	Numbers in Branches of the Armed Forces								Number of <i>Juancun</i>
	Army	Navy	Air Force	Combined Services Force	Reserve Forces	Military Police	Military Intel- ligence Bu- reau	National Security Bureau	
Taipei City	47	4	45	21	47	8	13	4	189
Taipei County	29	3	10	9	35	2	2	6	96
Keelung City	11	9	2	0	1	0	0	0	23
Ilan County	9	0	2	9	0	0	0	0	20
Taoyuan Coun-	44	0	26	5	5	1	2	0	83
Hsinchu City	17	0	27	2	1	0	0	0	47
Hsinchu County	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Miaoli County	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
Taichung City	33	0	36	13	2	2	0	0	86
Taichung	15	1	11	3	3	0	0	0	33
Changhua	8	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	10
Nantou County	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5
Yunlin County	1	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	7
Chiayi City	11	0	9	1	1	1	0	0	23
Chiayi County	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	7
Tainan City	21	0	12	4	4	2	0	0	43
Tainan County	8	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	14
Kaohsiung City	10	28	5	10	3	0	1	0	57
Kaohsiung	26	12	22	4	1	1	0	0	66
Pingtung	3	0	25	0	3	1	0	0	32
Taitung County	0	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	7
Hualien County	0	1	12	0	4	0	0	0	17
Penghu County	4	6	2	0	1	0	0	0	13
Kinmen County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lienchiang County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	310	64	266	83	118	19	18	10	888

Source : Translated from 王佳煌 (2007)

Table 3. Numbers of *Waishengren* in County/City throughout Taiwan (1991)

County /City	Number	Percentage (%)	Sorting
Taipei City*	730,333	26.85	1
Taipei County	507,619	16.34	6
Keelung City	82,084	23.06	2
Ilan County	32,706	7.21	16
Taoyuan County	290,862	21.00	3
Hsinchu City	61,675	18.75	4
Hsinchu County	24,789	6.53	17
Miaoli County	28,457	5.16	20
Taichung City	121,172	15.65	8
Taichung County	106,817	8.30	14
Changhua County	41,065	3.35	22
Nantou County	31,081	5.76	18
Yunlin County	23,116	3.07	23
Chiayi City	30,154	11.67	12
Chiayi County	24,515	4.44	21
Tainan City	82,605	11.98	10
Tainan County	64,741	6.25	18
Kaohsiung City	221,360	15.85	7
Kaohsiung County	133,250	11.77	11
Pingtung County	83,677	9.33	13
Taitung County	36,044	14.09	9
Hualien County	60,763	17.19	5
Penghu County	8,438	8.25	15

Source and note*: Number of population in Taipei City in 1990. Numbers of population in other counties and cities in 1991. Translated from 李元正 (2002).

Table 4. Ten Military Villages in Hsinchu in mid-2008 (*chosen site)

Services	Villages	Household
Army	Army Kinmen City New Village	89
	Army Daily Renewal New Village	25
Combined Service Force	Four Awareness 4 th Village	15
	North Chituqi New Village	5
Air Force	Air Force Loyal New Village*	218
	Air Force Laoshan New Village	49
	Air Force 10 th Village	158
	Air Force 20 th Village	248
	Air Force 21 st Village	58
	Air Force 22 nd Village	264

Appendix 2 The 10 Houses: Material Biographies of Loyalty New Village

Introduction

This report describes/illustrates the 10 houses out of 40 which were studied in a local community of Chinese Diaspora in Hsinchu City, Taiwan. The 10 households granted permission for the buildings to be laser-measured and fully photographed, while the rest of the houses were limitedly accessed and photographed without any measurement. The analysis arguably provides not only façades, interiors and plans but a glimpse of materialised forms of living in Loyalty New Village since 1954 after World War II.

1. The Neighbourhood

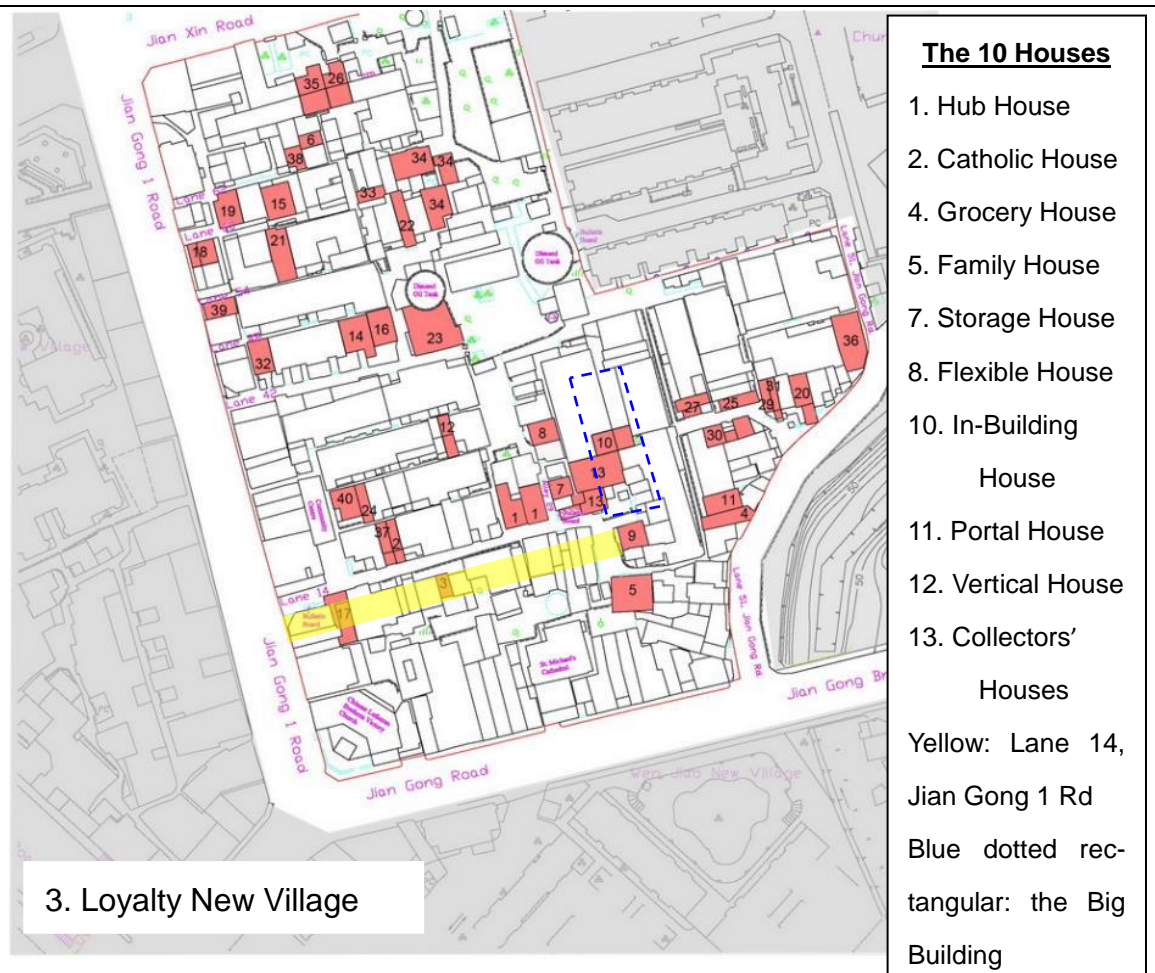
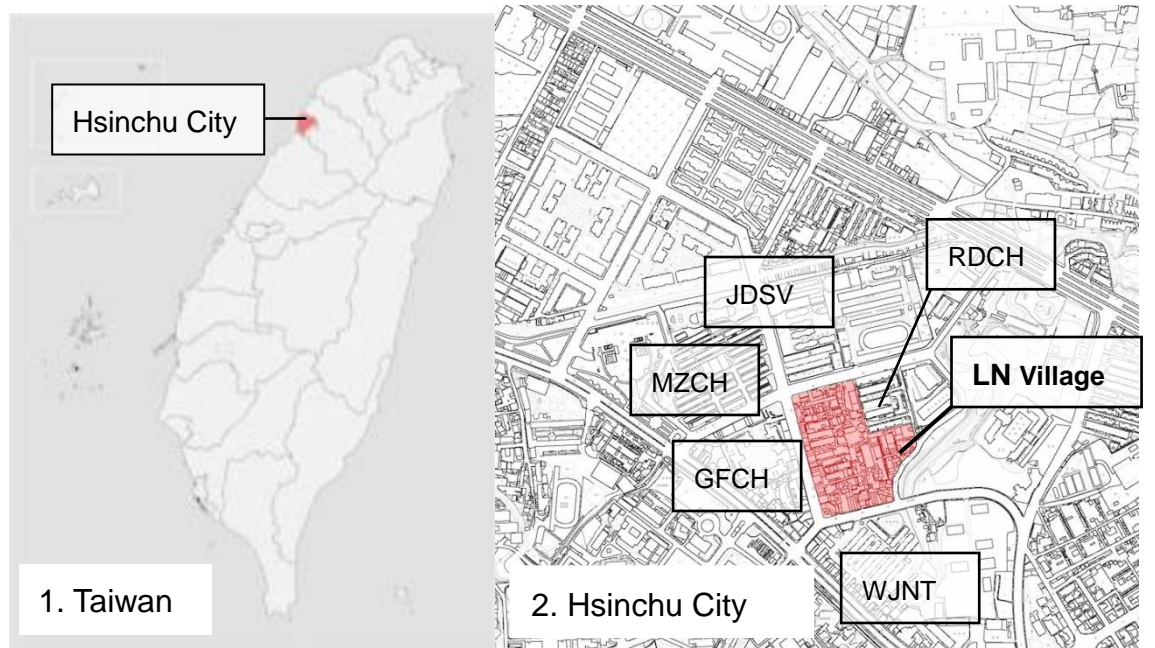
As seen in the maps on the next page, the neighbourhood, or the precinct of Loyalty New Village (hereafter LN Village) is, from a bird's eye view, in the shape of a left-hand kitchen glove facing down to the earth. The boundary is perceivably clear but porous, which is visually manifested by the distinctive form of low-rise buildings in its surroundings as well as a number of cramped lanes opening toward their periphery, mainly from the west, north and east sides. There are an elementary school (to the north), a high school (to the east), two churches (one Catholic and one Protestant) and a small business area/night market (to the south and west) and five major communities (Wen Jiao New Town, Guang Fu

Council House, Meng Zhu Council House, Jiao Da Scholar Village, Ren De Council House) in the vicinity. The houses are evenly distributed and located in different parts of the glove-shaped neighbourhood; they gain characteristics from their vicinal setting, which will be explained later.

2. The 10 Houses

The 10 houses have been built/re-constructed/renovated repeatedly over the past decades, and many have two, three or even four levels nowadays. All of them had originated from one-level sheds made of bamboo and mud and were then transformed into brick and concrete to meet the needs of their growing/changing occupants as well as adapting to the weather of a sub-tropical island frequented by showers in spring and typhoons in summer within the most seismic region. For convenience and typology, the 10 houses are accordingly denominated as the Hub House, the Catholic House, the Grocery House, the Family House, the Storage House, the Flexible House, the Rockery House, the Vertical House, and the Composite House; they are marked by different numbers on the LN Village map below.

Figures 1, 2, 3: Map of Loyalty New Village



A. The Hub House

The Hub House is located in centre of the 'glove' and sits near the far end of Lane 14, the 'main street' of LN Village; it is at the intersection of Lane 14 and 29 Alley, only 40 steps (24 meters) away from the Composite House, the home and office of the chief of JG Borough, where villagers report broken streetlamps, seek subvention advice and emergency help. Though it is in the heart of the village, it is easily accessed from JG 1 Road, the bustling area crammed with breakfast trucks, shops and restaurants at day and food stands at night.

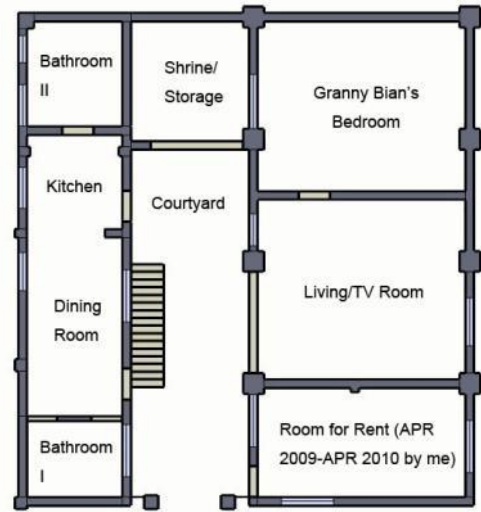
The Hub House is not only geographically in the middle of the village, but is also a historical 'complex building': its east wing had been once an office building (A.D. 1944-1945) in Hsinchu Branch of Navy 6th Fuel Plant (日本海軍第六燃料廠新竹支廠) under Japanese rule before World War II, and the west wing construction was commissioned and later renovated repeatedly by Mr Bian and his family since the early 1950s (see Figures 10-13). The Hub House is also complex when it comes to its ownership. The two-floored building (without the land pertaining to it) belongs to two families: The Bian family and its neighbour. Part of the 1st floor is not owned by the Bian family but by Ex-Captain Chen (see light green areas in Figures 6, 9 and 10). This is not unusual in LN Village. Residents here have made homes with what they have around them and organically grown their houses into, onto or next to neighbours' buildings. The imbrication of houses can be seen in the Catholic House, the Storage House, the Flexible House, and the Vertical House.

The Hub House, as a complex building, has also a contemporary meaning in its social function due to the way Mrs Bian runs her house: it provides toilet and resting places for public use (mostly by LN villagers) in the west wing, and acts as an information centre for exchanging gossip near the courtyard. It is also a check-point preventing outsiders from idling around because Mrs Bian is never timid in asking strangers at its front doors 'What are you doing here?' As 83-year-old Mrs Bian is always home with front doors open, she helps sign parcels for absent neighbours and keeps an eye on their houses when they are away for a trip or visiting sons and daughters in other cities. Before the Indonesian carer moved in to look after her in April 2010, Mrs Bian lived on the ground floor of Hub House with her grandson in his late twenties, occupying a room and a bathroom on the 1st floor. Her friends and nearby dwellers often come to visit her for a short talk or just enjoy some quiet moments of resting side by side at front doors. During the daytime, Mrs Bian is either found sitting at front doors watching passersby, or chatting with a few grannies at the chat corner. Therefore, it is understandable that the 'chat corner' with the long concrete bench, one of the most dynamic forums in LN Village, is right next to the Hub House on its east side. Anyone inside the Hub House can easily see through the east-wing windows and recognise those who are at the chat corner by vision or hearing, as can Mrs Bian. She is the nucleus of her neighbours as the Hub House is central to its periphery locally, historically, and socially.

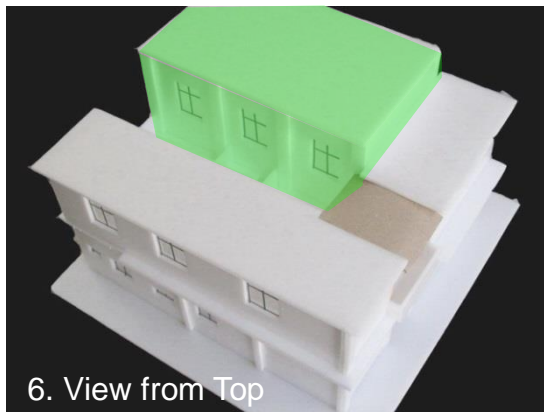
Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9: The Hub House (Plan and Model)



4. View from South-West



5. House Plan: Ground Floor



6. View from Top



7. View from West

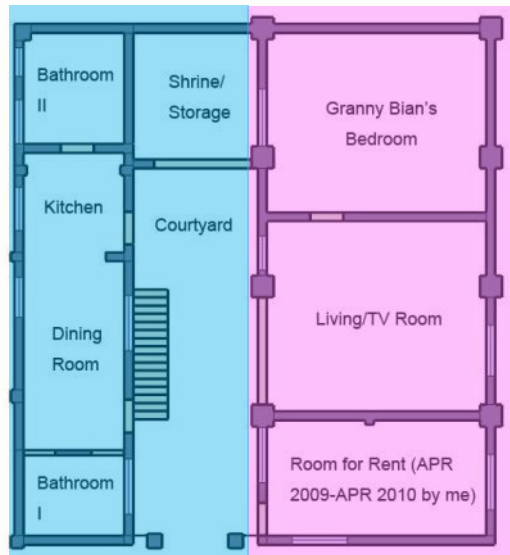


8. View from South



9. View from East

Figures 10, 11, 12, 13: The Hub House (Photo)



10. View from East

The pink area shows the part which was built as an office by Japanese before the end of WW II, the blue one by the diasporic residents.



11. View from South-West



B. The Catholic House

The Catholic House is located in the first third of Lane 14, within the south-west quarter of LN Village; it is 50 steps (30 meters) away from the local community centre (*Jun Gong Li Huo Dong Zhong Xin*, 軍功里活動中心), the venue for the Friday Elderly Meeting, neighbourhood assembly, ballot-counting of an election, memorials and the Chinese New Year greetings, where villagers come to meet friends, discuss community issues, implement democracy, and carry out traditions. Though the Catholic House is just one of the terraced houses in Lane 14, its doubled plan width, 1.8 meter-wide doors and the cross hanging high on facade, make it distinct from the others.

The Catholic House is not only recognisable from its outside, but also from the inside: it is decorated with images of a praying child and Jesus in glory, religious red couplets and the calendar with Catholic images (see Figures 19-21). It takes Mrs Jia less than 5 minutes (180 meters) to walk to the Catholic Church. She had lived only with her Vietnamese carer for a long time before 2010. However, her

youngest son's family sold his house to pay a debt and moved in to the 1st floor in late 2009. The Catholic House is also complex when it comes to its ownership. The three-floored building (without the land pertaining to it) belongs to two families: The Jia family and its neighbour. The 2nd floor is not owned by the Jia family (see light green areas in Figures 16 and 17).

Mrs Jia often makes references to Maria, the Catholic Church, personal miserable childhood as an orphan and her seasonal visits to the orphanage for years, but mentions nothing about her Mafia son Jia Run Nian, head of The Four Seas (*Si Hai Bang*, 四海幫), a triad society, which includes many Chinese Diaspora and their descendants. Correspondingly, the Catholic House is a relatively impressive and bright building of vividly red doors and misty rose brick walls.

Figures 14, 15: The Catholic House (Plan and Model)



14. House Plan: Ground Floor



15. View from South-West

Figures 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21: The Catholic House (Model and Photo)



16. View from South



17. View from North



18. View from South-West



19. View in living room (desk) and Mrs. Jia



20. View in living room (wall)



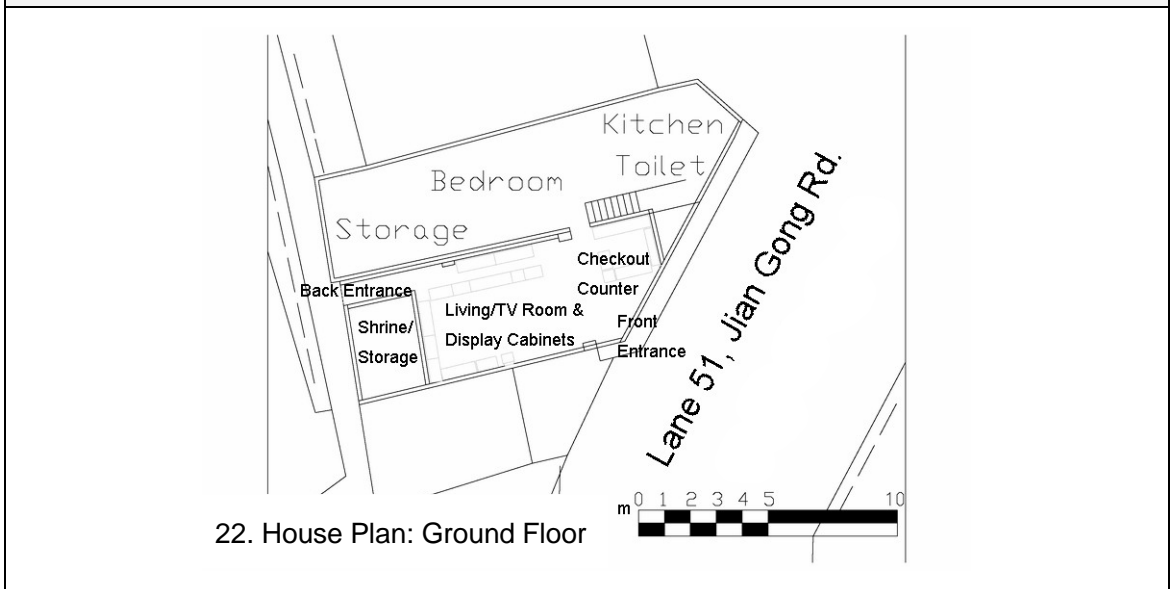
21. View in living room (cabinet)

C. The Grocery House

The Grocery House, home to one of the two merchandisers in LN Village, is located on the edge of the 'glove' and sits in the middle of Lane 51, JG Road, the 'border street' of LN Village at its east side; it is next to the Rockery House, the home of the village head (*Cun Zhang*, 村長), which is usually a post reserved for the revered elder in the village of Chinese Diaspora. Though it is at the far east of the village, the long building with doors at both ends provides a shortcut for insiders to reach outer traffic, greeting customers from not only the east but also the west. The other grocery is only 55 steps (33 meters) away.

The Grocery House is a grocery store as well as a house and part of the living space overlaps with the working areas (see Figure 22). Mr and Mrs Yen inherited the business from Mrs Yen's parents, Mr and Mrs Wang, who opened the first shop in LN Village in 1965. The inner space of the Grocery House is packed with not only goods of old days and nowadays, but also 'curiosities' saved from the dump by Mr Yen, who is an active volunteer of the Air Force Cultural and History Workshop (*Qing Tien Zi Qiang Xie Hui*, 擎天自強協會): cookies, sweets, calendars, lanterns, gourds and national flags of 'Republic of China' are hung from the ceiling and on the metal shelf; the fridge is covered with advertisements, and walls decorated with antique clocks and personal collections. Mr and Mrs Yen meet various people every day, and the Grocery House is visually rich and colourful.

Figure 22: The Grocery House (Plan)



Figures 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28: The Grocery House (Model and Photo)





D. The Family House

The Family House sits in a cul-de-sac (29 Alley), within the south-east quarter of LN Village; it is near the Hub House, the Storage House and the Composite House. It takes Mrs Zheng, who often plays mahjong, less than 4 minutes (120 meters) to reach the daily mahjong club held in one of the classrooms belonging to the former village kindergarten (*Zhong Zhen You Zhi Yuan*, 中真幼稚園), which was closed in 1999. Mrs Zheng lives with her grandson in the Family House on the ground floor and leases rooms on the first floor to several lodgers.

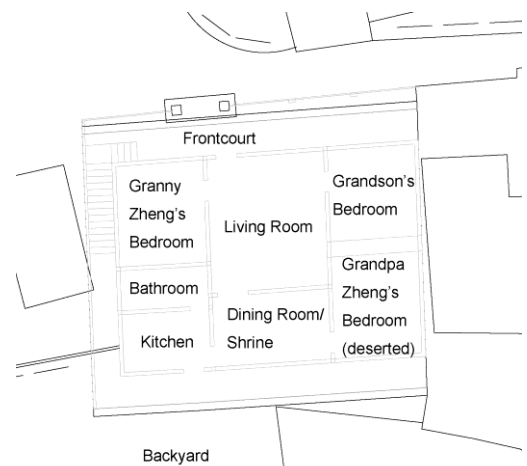
The construction and renovation of Mrs Zheng's Family House were draft-designed by herself and financed by the whole family: the walls were paid

for by her first daughter-in-law (see Figure 31), the windows by her second daughter and the kitchen furniture by her second daughter-in-law. Mr and Mrs Zheng raised a big family (see Figure 34), and were listed by Hsin-chu City government as one of the 'Model Couples' in 2000. Though Mr Zheng passed away a few years ago, Mrs Zheng leaves Mr Zheng's room intact, having only added a portrait of him to it. She is a straightforward person and keeps regular contact with her children and grandchildren, and the walls inside the Family House are simply decorated with almost nothing but family pictures.

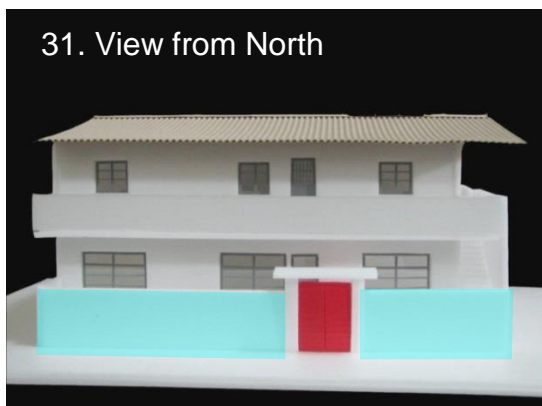
Figures 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34: The Family House (Plan and Model)



29. View from North West



30. House Plan: Ground Floor



31. View from North



32. View from South

Figures 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38: The Family House (Photo)



33. View from North (front)



34. Mrs. Zheng treating her friends a meal



35. View in the living room (east wall)



36. View in the living room (west wall)



37. View in the dining room with a shrine

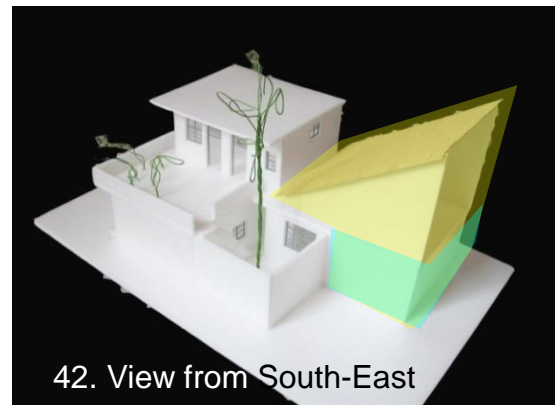
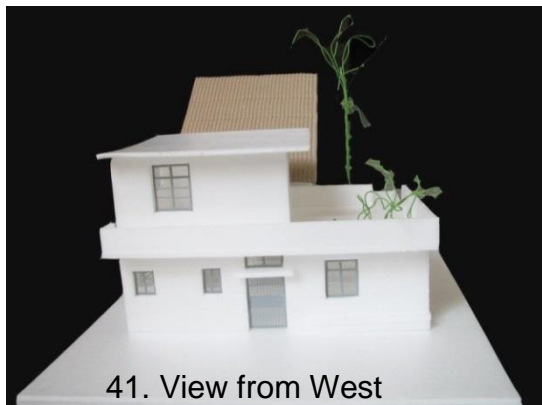
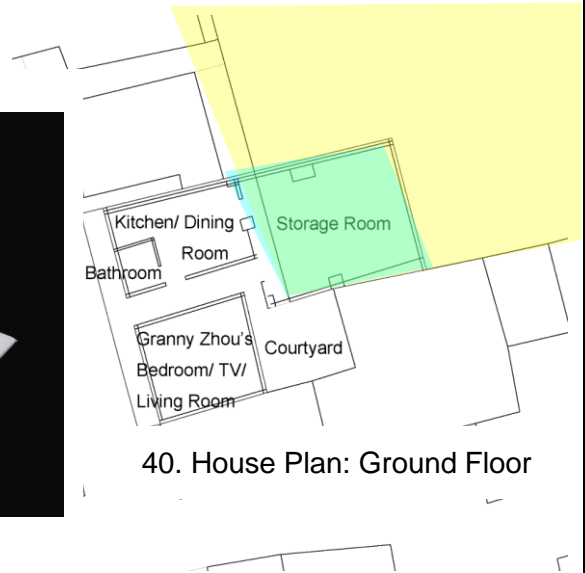


38. View in departed Mr. Zheng's room

E. The Storage House

The Storage House is located in centre of the 'glove' and sits on 29 Alley; it is only 20 steps (12 meters) away from Mrs Bian's Hub House. Its ground floor measures about 95 square meters indoors, of which at least 22 square meters are used for storage (see Figure 40). The Storage House is a two-floored complex building where part of the ground floor is under another roof of 'the Big Building' (*Da Fang Zi*, 大房子), a factory built under Japanese rule (see the yellow area in Figure 42). Mrs Chou lives here by herself on the ground floor and is always in the vain hope of leasing rooms on the first floor to lodgers; she had been suspicious of all former lodgers (mostly illegal immigrants from Vietnam or China) and accused them of stealing her belongs, such as sugar, soy sauce and money. Mrs Chou is extremely thrifty; she keeps so many things of value and foodstuffs brought to her by her filial daughter that she needs four fridges.

Figures 39, 40, 41, 42: The Storage House (Plan and Model)



Figures 43, 44, 45, 46: The Storage House (Photo)



43. View from South-West (front door)



44. The chat corner outside the Storage House



45. View in the living room (three fridges in white and grey can be seen near the kitchen)



46. View in the living room (storage area)

F. The Flexible House

The Flexible House is located on the south-east corner of the village square, which used to be the venue for open air cinema in LN Village; it is only 50 steps (30 meters) away from the In-Building House and 35 steps (21 meters) from the Storage House, and part of it shares the large roof of 'the Big Building' (see yellow area in Figures 47 and 50). According to Mrs Qian, who is currently living in this house with her single sister, the walls in front of the house had been straight but were rebuilt with a curve later in order to allow neighbours' vehicles to make their way into the square-turned car park (see the pale turquoise area in Figures. 48 and 49).

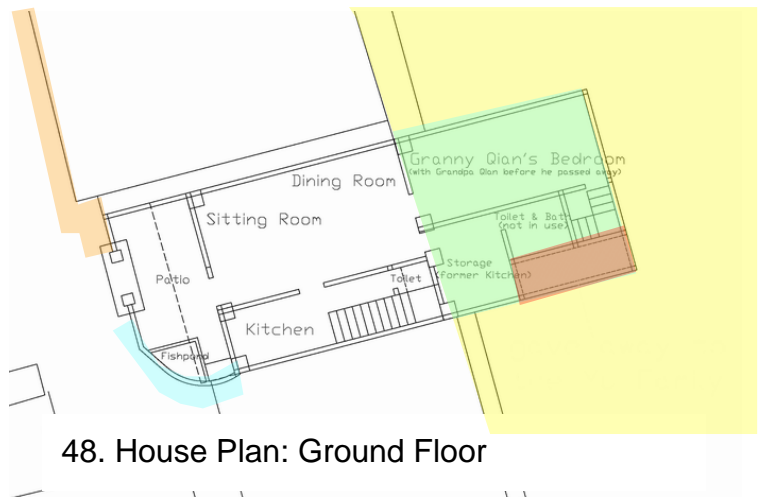
The Flexible House is not only flexible at the front, but also at the back: part of its east wing ground floor (5.5 square meter) was 'given' to the Yu family, who lived next door and desperately needed one more room for their growing children decades ago. It may be worth mentioning that the present back was the former front (see light green area in Figure 48). The present front was an addition to the original house inside 'the Big Building'. It shifted 180 degree from facing an in-building alley under one large roof to greeting the open square. Mrs Qian, who was Mr Qian's second wife, is a Hakka belonging to the second largest population of the four ethnic groups in Taiwan, while her husband was a diaspora Chinese from mainland China. Mrs Qian's various potted plants extend from her own front door to her neighbour's (see the orange area in Figures 48 and 51). 'Sometimes people pluck my flowers and veggies, but what can I do? I just leave it at that.' Mrs

Qian calmly told me in an accent mixing Hakka with Diaspora Chinese. She loves sitting on a wheelchair-turned-seat with cushions in it and watching TV; programs range from Taiwanese soap opera in South-Min dialect, and Mandarin News to Hollywood films in English (see Figure 52). The Flexible House and easygoing Mrs Qian share some similar characters.

Figures 47, 48: The Flexible House (Plan and Model)



47. View from West



48. House Plan: Ground Floor

Figures 49, 50, 51, 52: The Flexible House (Model and Photo)



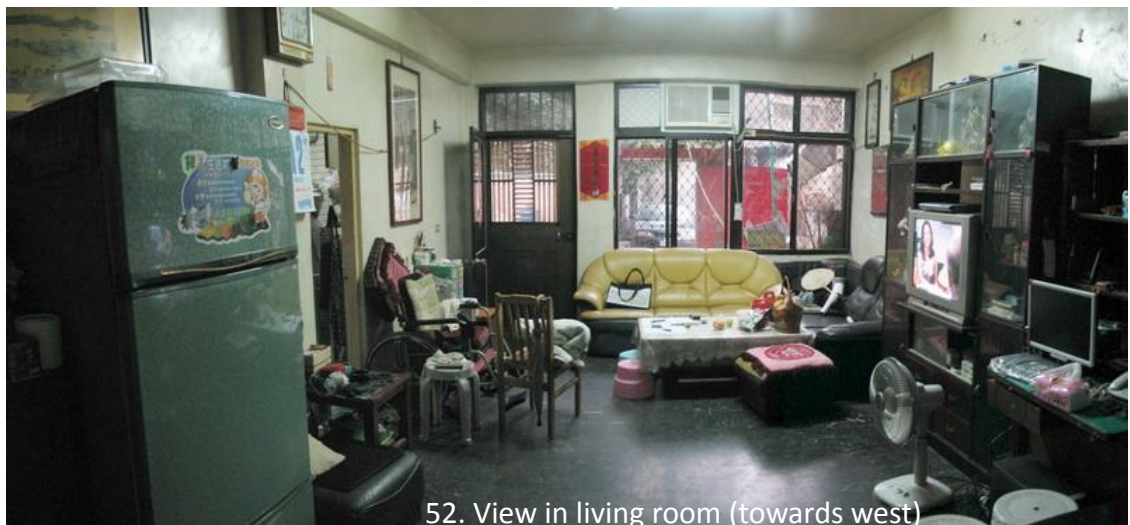
49. View from South-West



50. View from North



51. View from West (potted plants in the front)

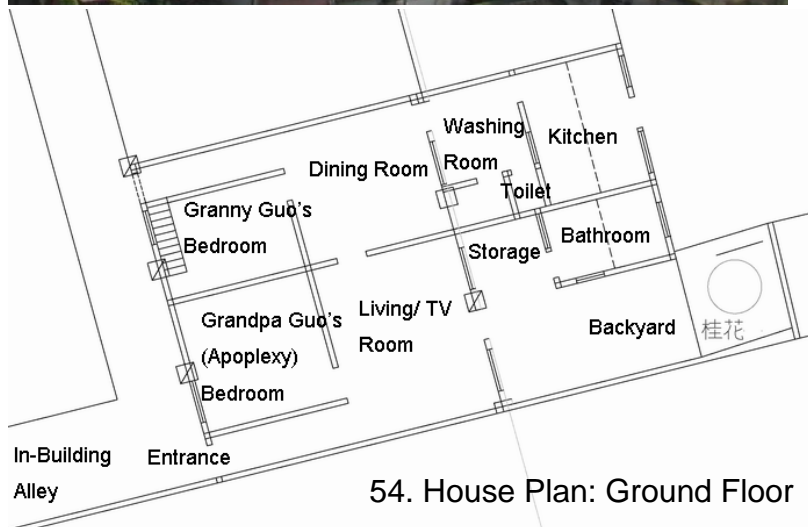


52. View in living room (towards west)

G. The In-Building House

The In-Building House is located near the village square in the 'Big Building' of LN Village, which once accommodated more than a dozen families under its roof. However, there are now fewer than five families living in it. The 'Big Building', made of brick walls and a wooden frame, was a factory building completed at the end of World War II and covers 700 square meters (see Figures 57, 58). It is not only the single largest building, but also one of the oldest structures in the village (see the blue dotted line in Figure. 53). Of the 10 houses studied in this research, four are partially within the 'Big Building': the Storage House, the Flexible House, the In-Building House and the Composite House. More than a half of the In-Building House is under the big roof (56 per cent). Mr and Mrs Guo, together with an Indonesia carer, are currently living in the house. Mr Guo is paralysed and relies heavily on the carer and Mrs Guo, now in her seventies, regularly seeks help from her neighbours due to illiteracy. The Guo family depends much on its supporting network as the In-Building House is protected as a house within a larger house (see Figures 55, 56).

Figures 53, 54, 55, 56: The In-Building House (Plan, Model and Photo)



Figures. 57, 58, 59: The In-Building House (Photo)



57. The Big Building: Wooden frame



58. View from West (front door)



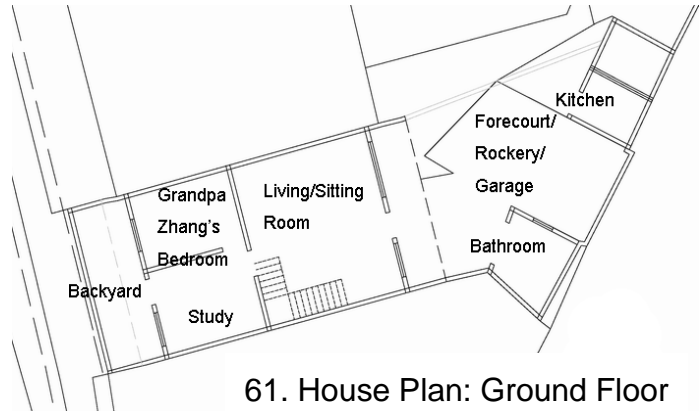
59. View from North (the in-building alley)

H. The Portal House

The Portal House is located on the east skirts of LN Village; it is in the middle of Lane 51, JG Road and right next to the Grocery House. The LN Village head, Mr Chang, and his wife live in the two-floor house with a garage in the front (see Figures 60, 64). A rockery garden is in the forecourt while a few potted plants are on the roof.

The rockwork in the front of the Portal House is not only visually impressive, but also symbolically abundant. Small banyan trees are carefully implanted into grotesque corals and rocks; a Buddha, a Guanyin (a Budhisattva) and a national flag are also arranged in the rock garden (see Figures 65, 66, 67). Inside the Portal House, Mr Chang's composite collection in the living room and his scrolls of calligraphy and painting on most walls echo strongly with his roof and front gardens. Mr Chang admires every aspect of China so much that he tries to create a miniature one in his house.

Figures 60, 61, 62, 63: The Portal House (Plan and Model)



Figures 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69: The Portal House (Photo)



64. View from South-East (front door)



65. The rockery garden (full view)



66. A Guanyin sitting on a rock



67. A banyan tree rooted in a coral



68. Scrolls of calligraphy and painting on the wall in living room (toward north)

I. The Vertical House

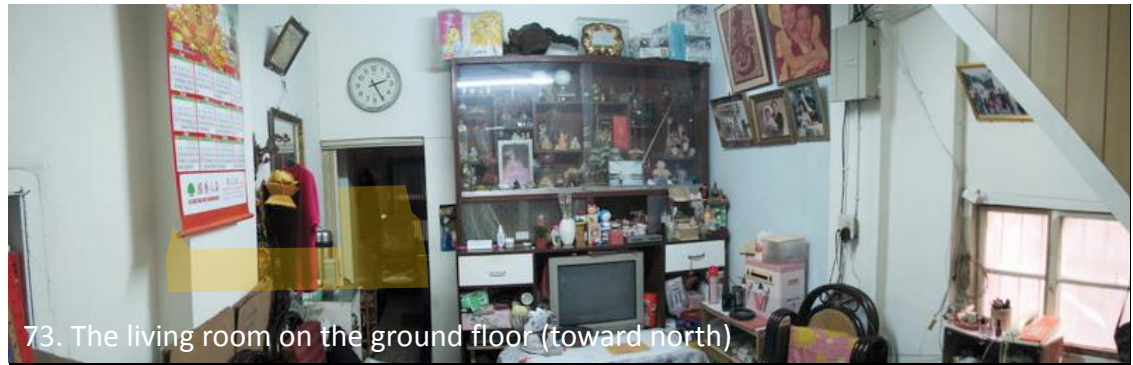
The Vertical House is located in the middle west of LN Village, where four rows of terraces cluster. This is a high-density area and most houses have long plans (see Figure 70). The Vertical House, for example, is 3.7 meters wide and 12 meters long, as it was first planned and built by air force headquarter in 1957 (see the blue dotted line in Figure 53). With such limited width of the space, Mrs Chen, who is a Taiwanese married to a Diaspora Chinese soldier, had no choice but to develop living space vertically to accommodate her growing family over the past few decades. Many windows can be found in this house, and are crucial to letting in enough ambient light into this narrow terraced house.

The Vertical House is complex in its ownership; it is a three-floored house with a terraced garden on the 1st floor of its neighbouring building (see the orange area in Figures 69, 71, 74). Mrs Chen currently lives by herself. The living room, bathroom, dining room and kitchen are on the ground floor, her bedroom and two guest rooms are on the 1st floor, she reserves the south half of the 2nd floor for the shrine and the other half for her married eldest son, of whom Mrs Chen is very proud because he left to study in the U.S. and then became a professor in university in Taipei city, the capital of Taiwan. Though her children have offered to buy her a new apartment in the other city, where she can move more freely with her crippled leg, she prefers to stay here, climbing up and down every day.

Figures 69, 70, 71, 72: The Vertical House (Plan and Model)



Figures. 73, 74, 75: The Vertical House (Photo)

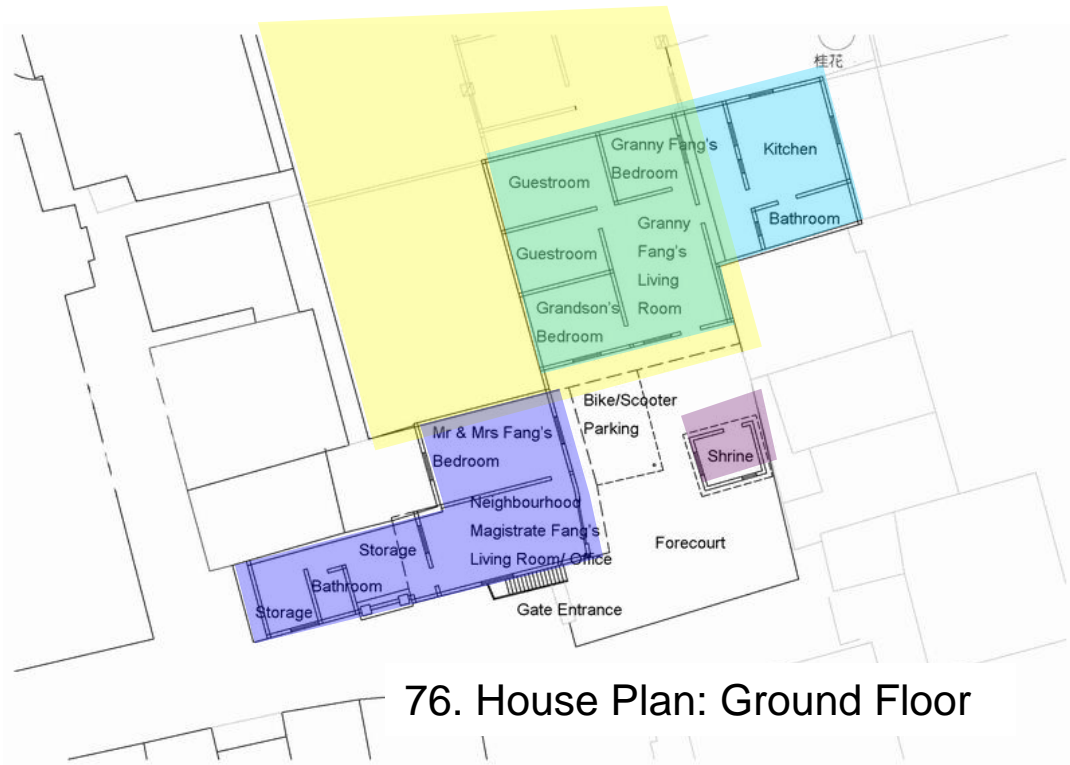


J. The Collectors' Houses

The Collectors' Houses (east and west wings), home and office of Mr Fang Jr, the chief of JG Borough, are located at the centre of the 'glove' and sit at the far end of Lane 14. Mr Fang Jr grew up in 'the Big Building' (the yellow area in Figure 76). He lives with his wife, youngest son in the west wing, and his mother (Mrs Fang) in the east wing; both wings are within the enclosure formed by the L-shaped wall.

The Collectors' Houses are not only a compound, but also a historical 'complex building': Mrs Fang and her grandson live in its east wing (the pale turquoise and light green areas in Figure 76), which was located in one of many factory buildings of Hsinchu Branch of Navy 6th Fuel Plant (日本海軍第六燃料廠新竹支廠) under Japanese rule before World War II; the Fang couple live in the west wing, which was a concrete construction bought from his neighbour who moved out decades ago (the blue area in Figure 76). The Fang Ancestors are enshrined in the lodge (the purple area in Figure 76). However, the portrait of Mr Fang, father of the chief of JG Borough, was placed high on top of an office cabinet in the east wing (see Figure 79). A wide collection of seashells, curios, and global travel photos are displayed in the east wing of the Collectors' House.

Figures 76, 77, 78: The Collectors' Houses (Plan and Model)



Figures 79, 80: The Collectors' Houses (Model and Photo)



Appendix 3 The 40 Living Rooms: Roots/Routes of Loyalty New Village

Introduction

This report describes/illustrates the 40 living rooms/areas studied in a local community of Chinese Diaspora in Hsin-chu City, Taiwan. Permission was granted for each of them to be photographed, and one or more semi-structural interviews with each of the residents were conducted. The analysis provides not only interior (wall and furniture) settings but also materialised emotions, memories and life courses of Diaspora Chinese currently living in Loyalty New Village (hereafter LN Village), Taiwan since 1954 after World War II.

1. The General Setting

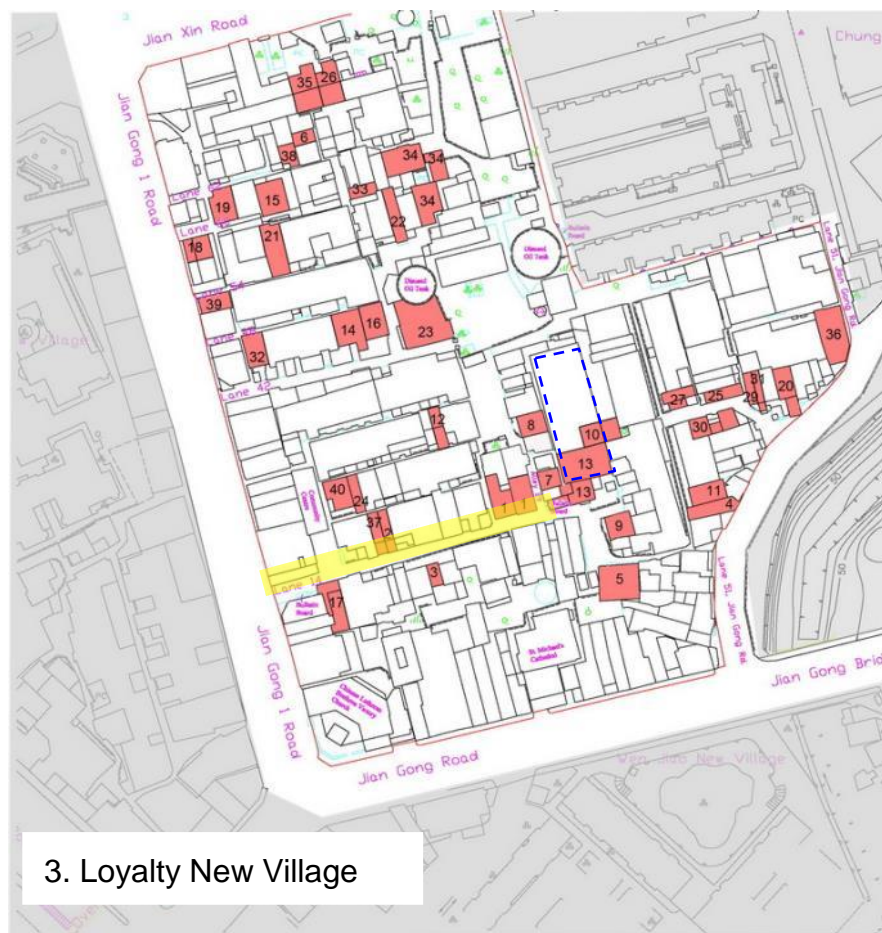
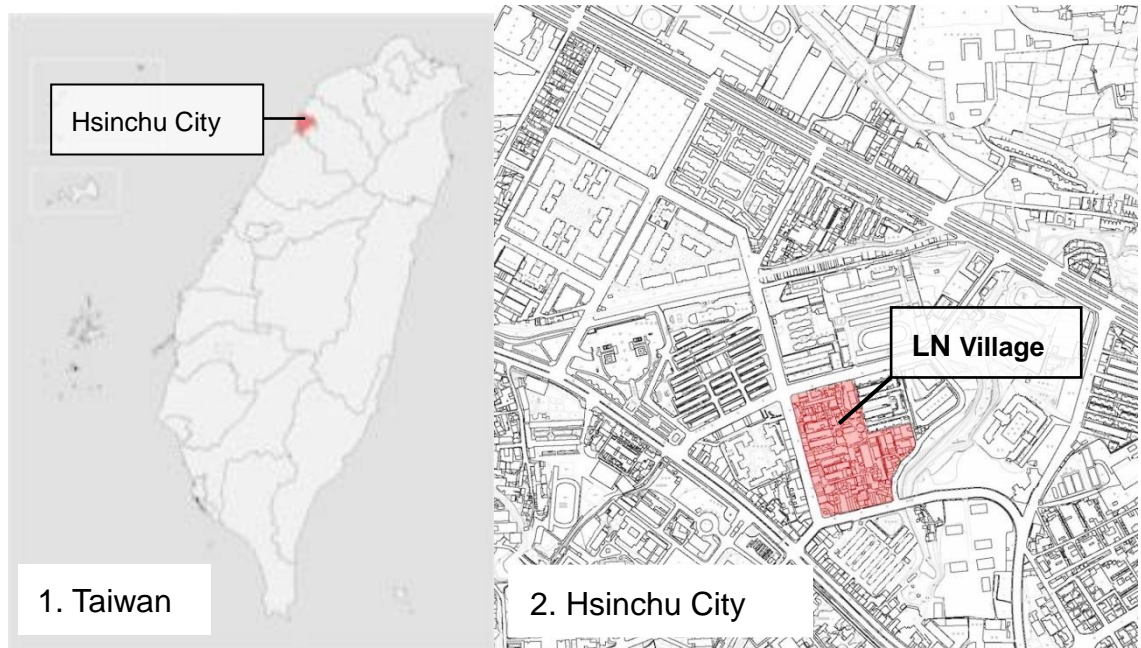
A living room/area is a place or space in a residence used for the common social activities of the occupants. As seen in pictures and tables over the following pages, a living room/area in the community may comprise several parts: corners of communication, collection and display, shrine and sitting. A few rattan chairs or a tattered phone book may usually be found in the communication corner; calligraphy scrolls and paintings, curios from trips to tourist spots in Taiwan, China or beyond, and gifts from friends and families are often seen in a collection and display corner. A sofa, tea table and a TV are common in sitting corners while the

ancestors' spirit tablet, idols or josses (deity figurines) and sometimes a deadee (a portrait of the deceased) are key elements of the shrine (prayer table or altar). These living rooms/areas share similar attributes in general but differ from each other in detail; their boundaries are often perceivably clear but visually and auditorily permeable.

2. The 40 Living Rooms/Areas

The 40 living rooms/areas have been used by different generations of residents and have been continuously rearranged/decorated for the past decades. Some of them are transformed into places for new purposes nowadays and six out of 40 cases are shown in the report: two groceries (#4 and #20), an office (#13B), a sanctuary (#23), a naturopathy clinic (#37) and a diner (#39). For convenience, the 40 living rooms/areas are accordingly categorised into seven types: the Archive, the Cabinet, the Court, the Particular (grocery/sanctuary/diner), the Saloon, the Solitude and the Storage; each living room/area may belong to one or more groups. They are located in the 40 numbered houses on the LN Village map below.

Figures 1, 2, 3: Map of Loyalty New Village



The 10 Houses

1. Hub House
 2. Catholic House
 4. Grocery House
 5. Family House
 7. Storage House
 8. Flexible House
 10. In-Building House
 11. Portal House
 12. Vertical House
 13. Collectors' Houses
- Yellow: Lane 14,
Jian Gong 1 Rd
Blue rectangular:
the Big Building

Table 5-1: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#1 - #7)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
1	the Saloon / the Court	V	V		V	The Hub House	♀ ♂
2	the Saloon / the Archive		V	V	V	The Catholic House	♀
3	the Saloon			V	V		♀
4	the Saloon / the Particular / the Cabinet	V	V		V	The Grocery House	♀ ♂
5	the Saloon		V		V	The Family House	♀
6	the Solitude				V		♂
7	the Solitude / the Storage			V	V	The Storage House	♀

Table 5-2: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#8 - #13)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
8	the Saloon		V		V	The Flexible House	♀
9	the Saloon / the Cabinet		V		V	Mah-jongg House	♀ ♂
10	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V	V	V	The In-Building House	♀
11	the Saloon / the Cabinet	V	V		V	The Rockery House	♂
12	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V		V	The Vertical House	♀
13A	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V	V	V	The Composite House	♀
13B	the Particular / the Cabinet	V	V		V	Neighbourhood Magistrate Office	♂

Table 5-3: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#14 - #21)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
14	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V		V		♀ ♂
15	the Solitude / the Court		V		V		♀ ♂
16	the Solitude / the Court		V	V	V		♂
17	the Solitude / the Archive		V		V		♂
18	the Solitude / the Archive		V		V		♀ ♂
19	the Solitude				V		♂
20	the Saloon / the Particular	V	V		V	A Grocery	♀
21	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V		V		♀ ♂

Table 5-4: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#22 - #28)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
22	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V	V	V		♀
23	the Saloon / the Particular	V		V		A Taoist Sanctuary	♂
24	the Solitude		V		V		♀ ♂
25	the Saloon / the Cabinet	V	V	V	V		♀
26	the Solitude / the Archive		V	V	V		♂
27	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V	V	V		♀ ♂
28A	the Saloon / the Particular	V	V		V	An Earth God Temple	♂
28B	the Solitude / the Storage		V	V			

Table 5-5: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#29 - #36)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
29	the Solitude		V		V		♀
30	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V		V		♀
31	the Solitude		V		V		♂
32	the Solitude / the Court		V		V		♂
33	the Saloon / the Court	V			V		♀
34	the Saloon / the Cabinet	V	V		V		♀ ♀
35	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V	V	V		♀
36	the Solitude		V		V		♂

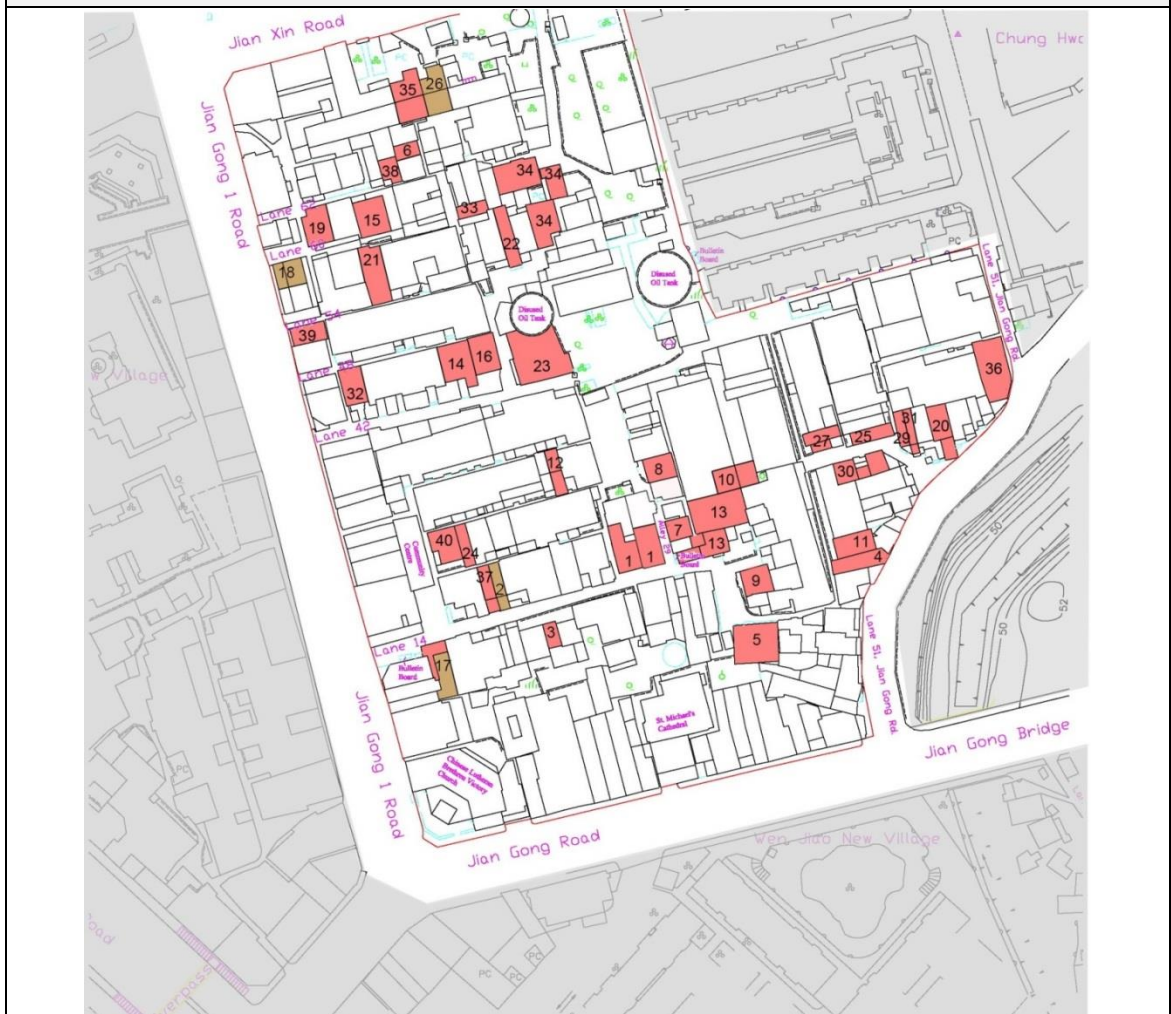
Table 5-6: 40 Living Rooms/Areas (#37 - #40)

# of House	Type(s)	Communication	Collection/Display	Shrine	Sitting	Note	Gender
37	the Saloon / the Particular		V		V	A Naturopathy Clinic	♂
38	the Solitude / the Cabinet / the Storage		V		V		♀ ♂
39	the Saloon / the Particular		V		V	A Diner	♀
40	the Solitude / the Cabinet		V		V		♀
Total		10	32	13	40		♀ 29 ♂ 23

A. The Archive

The Archive in this report refers to a kind of a place in which personal records and photos are preserved. Four of 40 living rooms/areas may be categorised as ‘the Archive’ in the community: #2, #17, #18 and #26. Personal photos and portraits of politicians, as well as newspaper cuttings are commonly seen in these living rooms. It is noticeable that all these places are located on or near the fringes of the community.

Figure 4: Village Plan of Archive-type Living Rooms



B. The Cabinet

The Cabinet in this report refers to a place in which curios and collections are preserved and displayed. Of the 40 living rooms/areas 40 per cent can be categorised as the 'Cabinet' type in the community: #4, #9, #10, #11, #12, #13A, #13B, #14, #21, #22, #25, #27, #30, #34, #35, #38 and #40. Scrolls of calligraphy and painting, curios and souvenirs from trips and gifts from friends and families are usually found in these living rooms. Clusters of these places are visible on the map.

Figure 5: Village Plan of Cabinet-type Living Rooms



C. The Court

The Court in this report refers to a kind of an open/semi-open space enclosed wholly or partly by buildings. Five of 40 living rooms/areas can be categorised as the 'Court' type in the community: #1, #15, #16, #32 and #33. Durable furniture and open doors are often seen in these places full of ambient light. Each of these places (except #32 and #33) directly adjoins a chat corner in the community, where neighbours gather to small talk in public.

Figure 6: Village Plan of Court-type Living Rooms



D. The Particular (grocery/office/sanctuary/naturopathy clinic/diner)

The Particular in this report refers to those exceptions. Six out of 40 living rooms/areas can be categorised as the 'Particular' type in the community: #4 (grocery), #13B (neighbourhood magistrate's office), #20 (grocery), #23 (Taoist sanctuary), #37 (naturopathy clinic) and #39 (diner). Though their settings are dramatically transformed in order to serve their new purposes, imprints of living space can still be carefully discerned.

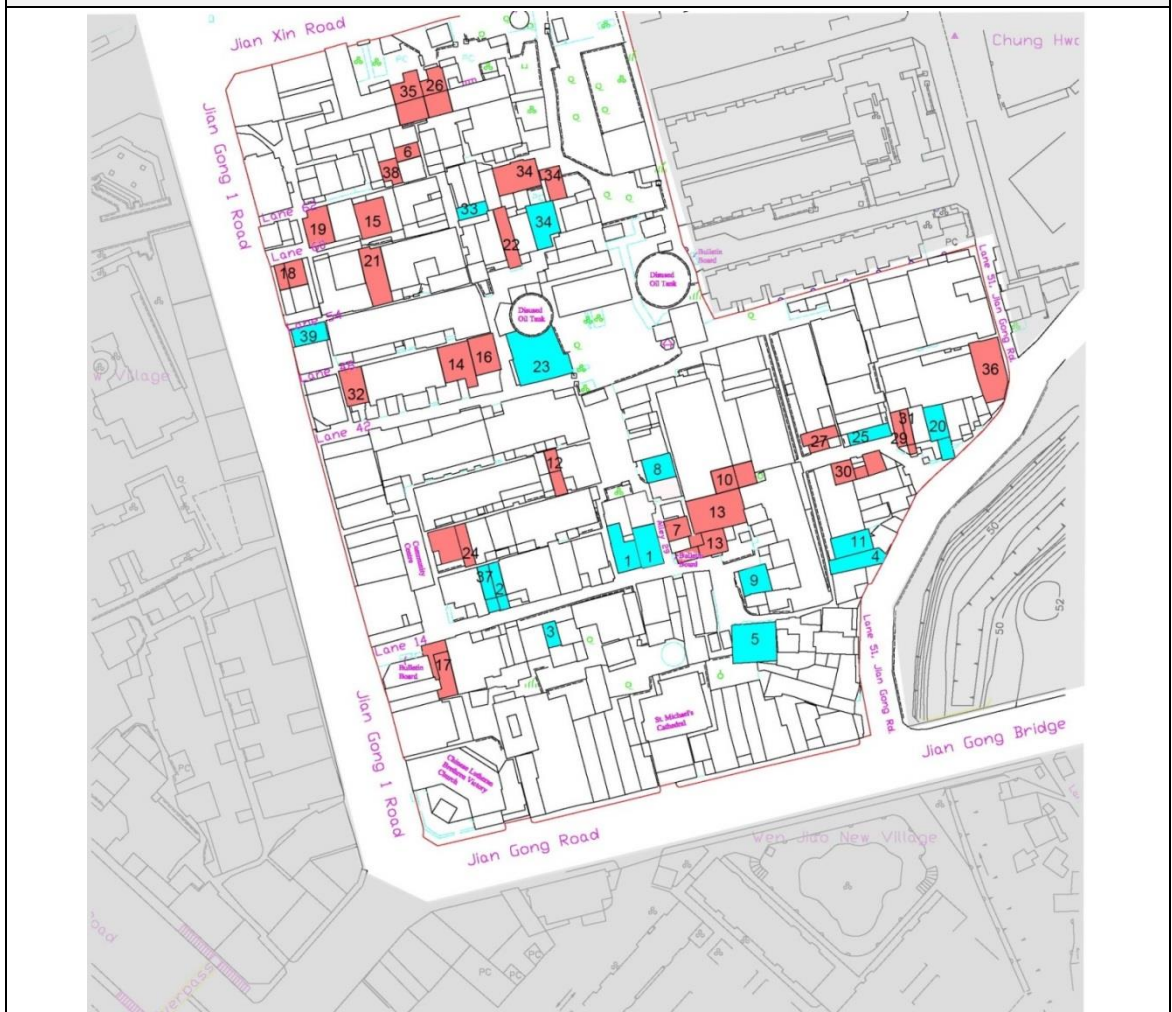
Figures 7: Village Plan of Particular-type Living Rooms



E. The Saloon

The Saloon in this report refers to a place in which neighbours come in for a chat or gather for small talk. Of the living rooms/areas, 16 of 40 can be categorised as the 'Saloon' type within the community: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #8, #9, #11, #20, #23, #25, #28A, #33, #34, #37 and #39. These living rooms/areas allow more neighbours (customers or believers) to enter and exchange information; they serve as public or semi-public places in the community and beyond.

Figure 8: Village Plan of Saloon-type Living Rooms (#28A is beyond this map)



F. The Solitude

The Solitude in this report refers to a lonely place in which only residents can enter at most times. More than 60 per cent of the 40 living rooms/areas may be categorised as the 'Solitude' type within the community: #6, #7, #10, #12, #13A, #14, #15, #16, #17, #18, #19, #21, #22, #24, #26, #27, #28B, #29, #30, #31, #32, #35, #36, #38 and #40. Some of these places comprise dingy and dirty corners with grime-encrusted windows which allow little daylight to permeate the room, while others look tidy but desolate.

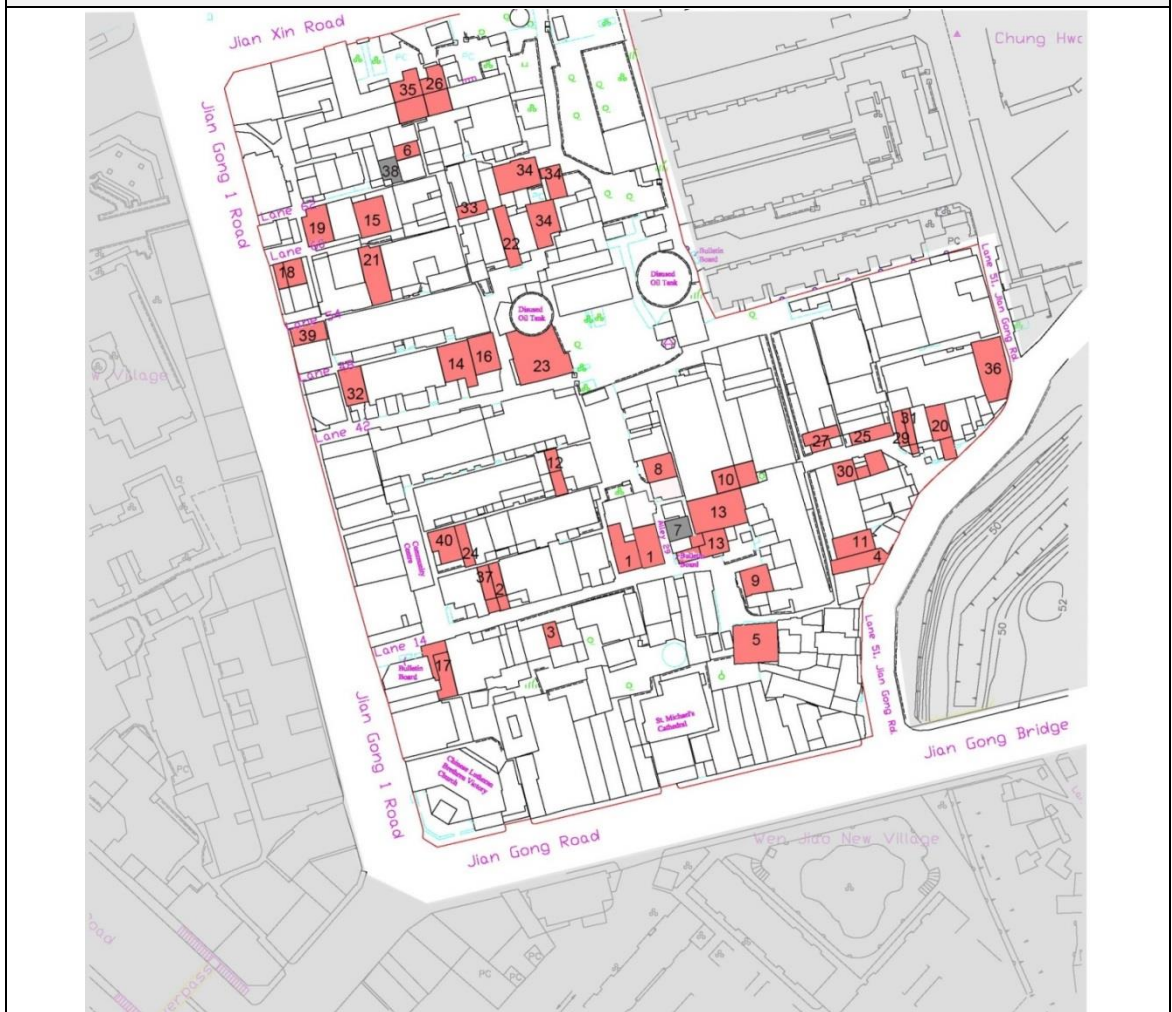
Figure 9: Village Plan of Solitude-type Living Rooms (#28B is beyond this map)



G. The Storage

The Storage in this report refers to a space or a place for storage in which residents keep their belongings such as used furniture, suitcases, Three out of 40 living rooms/areas may be categorised as the 'Storage' type in the community: #7, #28B and #38. All of these places are cluttered with odds and ends of which their owners are reluctant to let go; one may find it difficult to move around in these rooms.

Figure 10: Village Plan of Storage-type Living Rooms (#28B is beyond this map)



Appendix 4. The 15 Gardens: Cosmology and Social Network of Loyalty New Village

Introduction

This appendix briefly describes/illustrates the 15 gardens studied in a local community of Chinese Diaspora in Hsin-chu City, Taiwan. Permission by the owners was granted for these gardens to be photographed; several semi-structural interviews with the gardeners were conducted. The analysis provides not only a window into the green fingered life but also the cosmology and social network of Diaspora Chinese currently living in Loyalty New Village in Taiwan since 1954.

1. The 32 Houses with Gardens and/or Potted Plants

Amongst the 40 houses studied in this research, 19 gardens are appended to them and potted plants are common decorations around the village. As seen in pictures and tables in the following pages, a house in the community can include greenery in several areas: the front, the forecourt, the courtyard, the backyard and the roof. Potted plants can be seen all over these places, while only a few rockeries can be found. The gardens share a few similar attributes but vary from house to house in considerable detail. Due to limited access to these gardens, only 15 gardens were studied and are presented below.

2. The 15 Gardens

Gardens here are not like those in the UK or the Europe. The 15 gardens are more like nooks packed with (potted) plants; they have been created by residents and continuously reorganised over the past decades. Most of them are potted-plant gardens, and only a few have grown trees or flowers in the earth.

The potted plants are not usually bought from the market but are given by and exchanged between friends or relatives; most rockeries are made of corals obtained from South Taiwan near the airport where soldiers were on active duty in the past. Many residents/gardeners don't know much about what strain of vegetation they have but remember from whom they acquire it. In this village of crowded terrace houses, gardens grow in limited spare space provided that sunlight is available: the Ground (#5, #8, #22, #26, #28, #32, #34, #35 and #36), the Roof (#7, #12, #15, #16, #20, #21 and #38), and Both (#9 and #11).

Figures 1, 2, 3: Map of Loyalty New Village

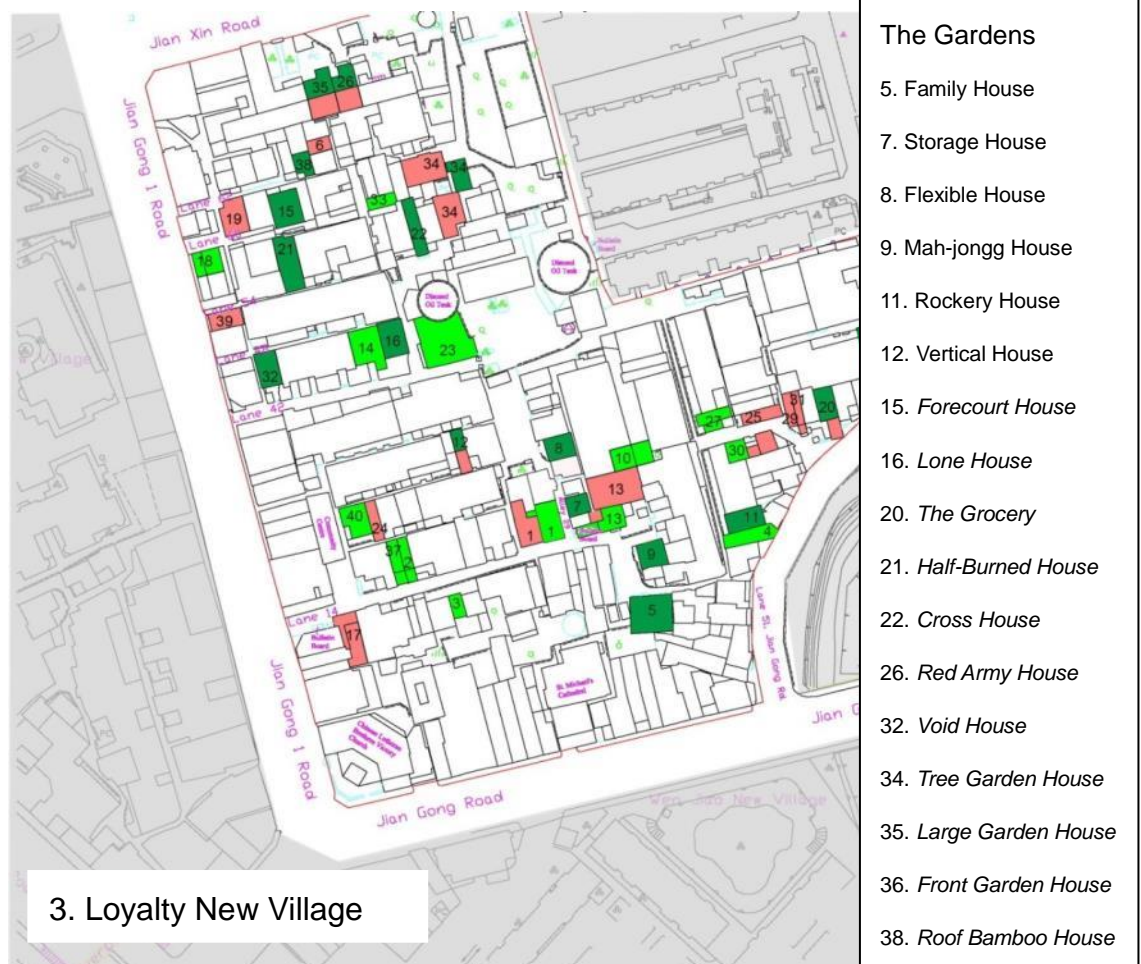
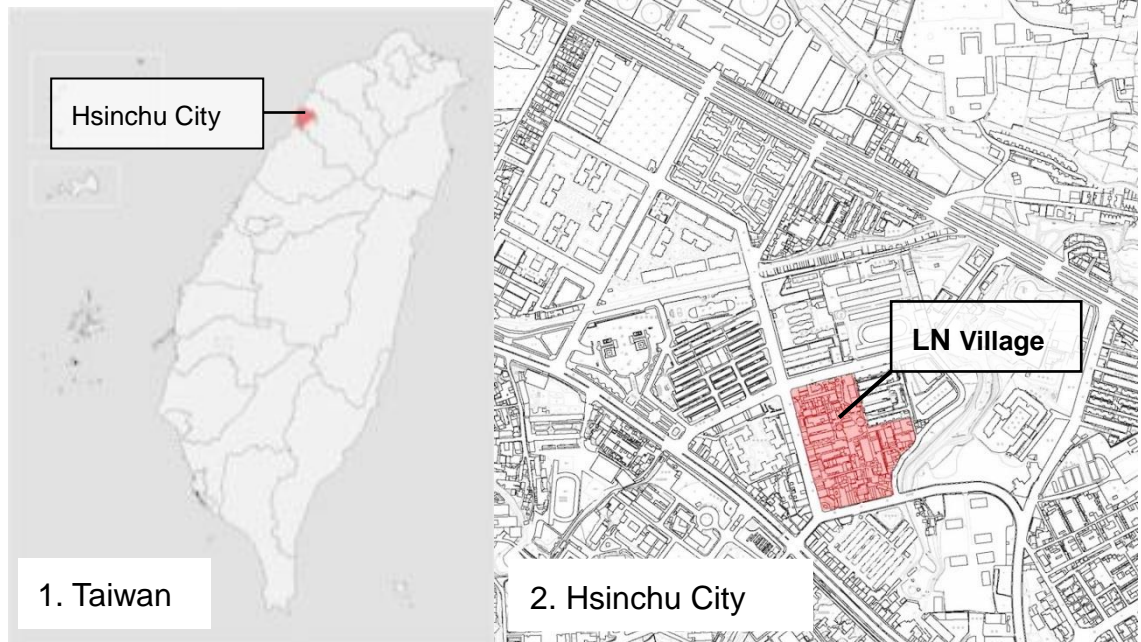


Table 6-1: 32 Houses with Potted Plants and Gardens (#1 - #9)

# of House	House Title	Green Front	Potted Plants	Rockery	Garden Type	Note
1	The Hub House		V			
2	The Catholic House	V	V			
3	<i>The Religion House</i>	V	V			
4	The Grocery House	V	V			
5	The Family House	V	V		Ground	Grown trees in earth
7	The Storage House	V	V		Roof	A grown tree in earth
8	The Flexible House	V	V		Ground	
9	<i>The Mah-jongg House</i>	V	V		Both	

Table 6-2: 32 Houses with Potted Plants and Gardens (#10 - #18)

# of House	House Title	Green Front	Potted Plants	Rockery	Garden Type	Note
10	The In-Building House					A grown tree in earth
11	The Rockery House	V	V	V	Both	Grown trees in earth
12	The Vertical House		V		Roof	
13	The Composite House	V	V	V	Ground	Grown trees in earth
14	<i>The Intellectual House</i>					Grown trees in earth
15	<i>The Forecourt House</i>		V		Roof	
16	<i>The Lone House</i>		V		Roof	
18	<i>The Private House</i>		V			

Table 6-3: 32 Houses with Potted Plants and Gardens (#20 - #28)

# of House	House Title	Green Front	Potted Plants	Rockery	Garden Type	Note
20	<i>The Grocery</i>	V	V		Roof	
21	<i>The Half-Burned House</i>		V		Roof	
22	<i>The Cross House</i>		V		Ground	
23	<i>The Taoist Sanctuary</i>	V	V			
26	<i>The Red Army House</i>	V	V	V	Ground	
27	<i>The Peace House</i>	V	V			
28A	<i>The Earth God Temple</i>	V	V	V	Ground	Grown trees in earth
28B	<i>The Chimney House</i>		V		Ground	

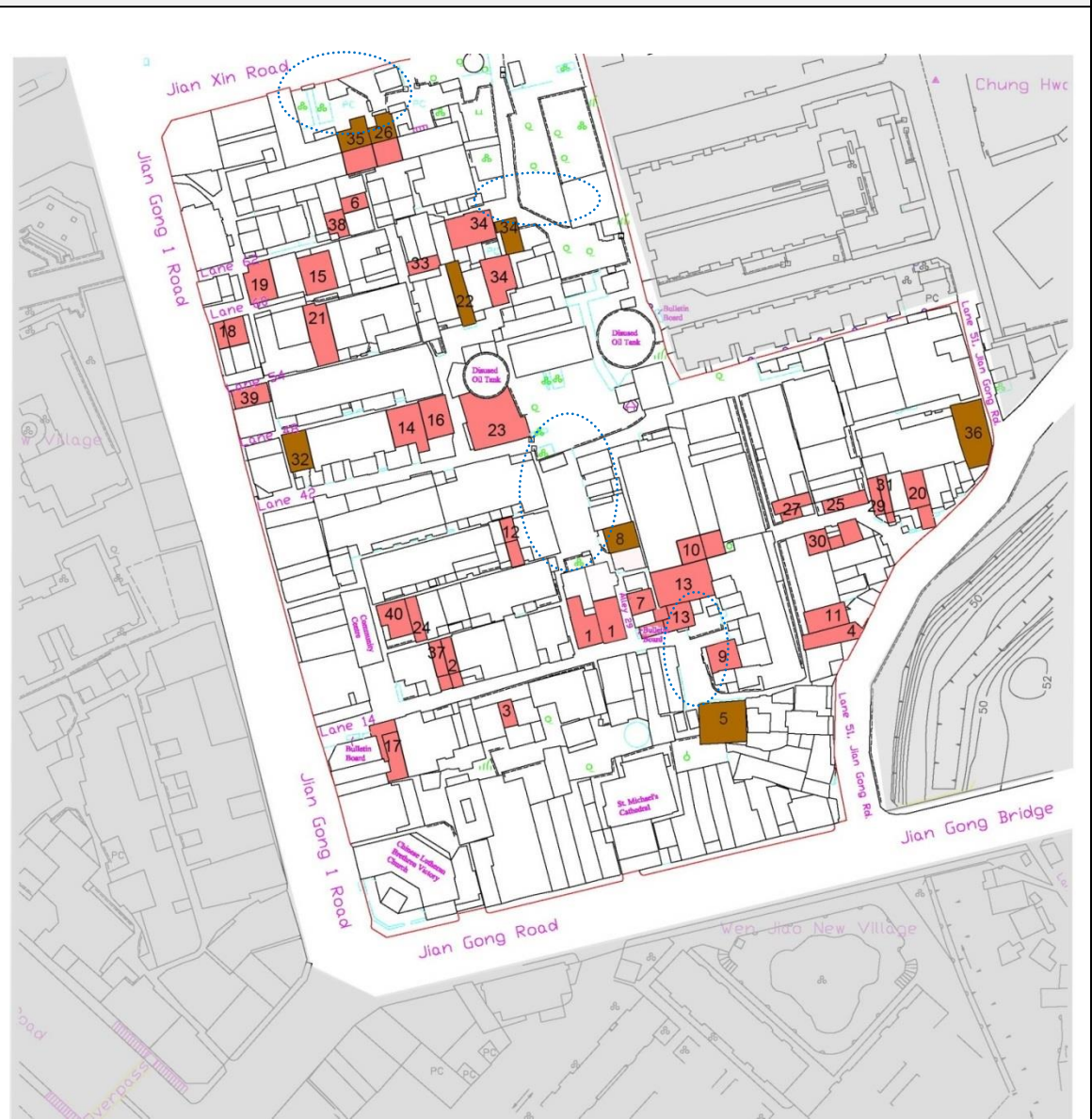
Table 6-4: 32 Houses with Potted Plants and Gardens (#30 - #40)

# of House	House Title	Green Front	Potted Plants	Rockery	Garden Type	Note
30	<i>The Cheerless House</i>	V	V			
32	<i>The Void House</i>		V		Ground	Grown trees in earth
33	<i>The Rockery-Work House</i>		V	V		
34	<i>The Tree Garden House</i>		V		Ground	Grown trees in earth
35	<i>The Large Garden House</i>		V		Ground	Grown trees in earth
36	<i>The Front Garden House</i>	V	V		Ground	Grown trees in earth
37	<i>The Naturopathy Clinic</i>	V	V			
38	<i>The Roof Bamboo House</i>				Roof	
40	<i>The Paper Lotus House</i>	V	V			

A. The Ground Garden

The Ground Garden in this report refers to a place on the ground in which residents/gardeners regularly attend to their plants. Nine out of 15 gardens may be categorised as 'Ground Gardens' in the community: #5, #8, #22, #26, #28, #32, #34, #35 and #36. These gardens are located either in larger houses or facing an open space (as indicated in blue circles in the map), which allow the residents/gardeners to grow plants on the ground.

Figure 4: Village Plan of Ground Gardens



Figures 5-10: The Ground Gardens: Photos



5. House #26



6. House #34



7. House #35



8. House #36



9. View from South-East (51 Lane, Jian Gong Road)



10. View from West (House #8)

B. The Roof Gardens

The Roof Garden in this report refers to a place on the upper floors or the roof in which residents/gardeners regularly attend to their plants. Nearly half of the 15 gardens may be categorised as 'Roof Gardens' in the community: #7, #12, #15, #16, #20, #21 and #38. These gardens are often located in long-shaped houses and some residents' gardens are located on their neighbours' roof (#7, #12 and #21).

Figure 11: Village Plan of Roof Gardens



Figures 12-17: The Roof Gardens: Photos



12. House #7



13. House #15



14. House #21



15. House #38



16. House #7

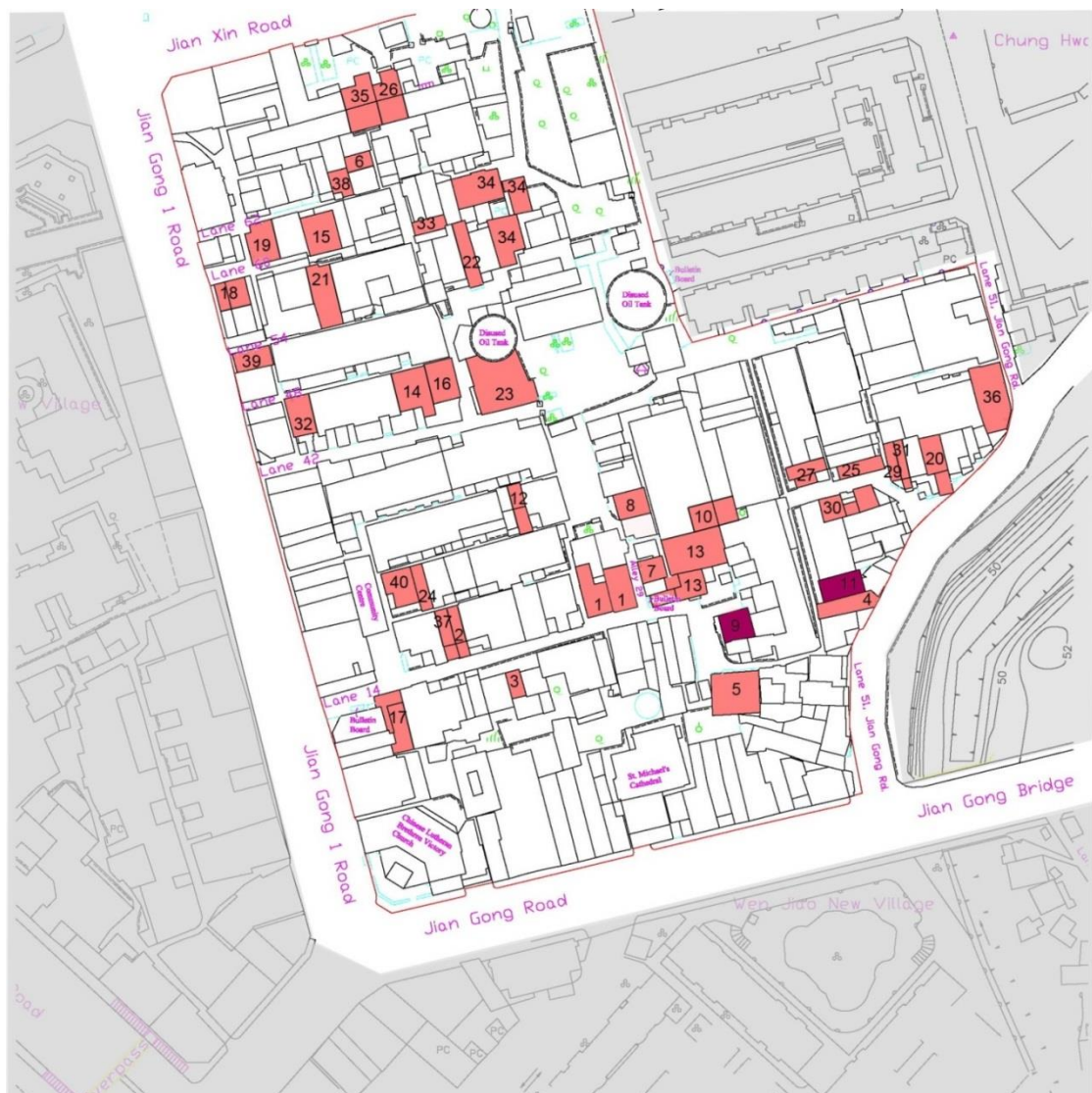


17. House #12

C. The Ground-and-Roof Gardens

The Ground-and-Roof Gardens in this report refer to those gardens coupled on the ground and the roof appended to houses. Two of the 15 gardens can be categorised as 'Ground-and-Roof Gardens' in the community: #9 (house of a higher rank) and #11 (house of the village head). It requires more space, labour and money to maintain both gardens in one house.

Figure 18: Village Plan of Ground-and-Roof Gardens



Figures 19-24: The Ground-and-Roof Gardens: Photos



19. House #9 (ground garden)



20. House #9 (roof garden)



21. House #11 (ground garden)



22. House #11 (roof garden)



23. View from West (House #9)



24. View from East (House #11)

